

[P. 26]

177 known to have been recently adopted by the
Yokuts from their Mono neighbors, i.e., the
439 triangular winnowing tray and the picturesque
hooded twined cradle which are now made by
Yokuts women instead of being bought from the
Monachi. And, though it is yet to be proved,
[174] I believe that the pottery-making of the Yokuts
foothills is a craft derived from the Western
Mono, linking with the Southern Basin Shoshoneans and the Navajo rather than with the
pottery-makers of Southern California.¹

177 Western Mono have adopted Yokuts houses
and have made one innovation, at least, in
● [342] adapting a thatch covering to the two-post oval
frame (Waksachi).

In the realm of mythology the Western Mono
have accepted many Yokuts myths, yet share with
their linguistic relatives of the Basin tales
not told by the Yokuts.²

178 Today many Yokuts are on the Tule River
Reservation; a few families have been permitted
171 to live almost undisturbed on the large ranches
of white landowners along the foothills. Some
Yokuts and Western Mono have small claims of
their own on which they dwell as poor ranchers
or woodsmen. Little of the aboriginal life
shows in this existence, save for the continued
use of acorn foods and the few implements
needed for their preparation, and basketmaking,
an art which flourishes because of tourist
trade. Some mothers still confine their in-
fants in the hooded cradle. Native language
and kinship terms are in use; family totems are
retained, and official functions are aberrantly
performed on rare occasions. Otherwise the
life of Yokuts and Monachi is scarcely dis-
tinguishable from that of poor white farmers
and laborers in the San Joaquin Valley and
Sierra Nevada foothills.

133 Before entering upon the ethnography which
follows, the reader should be familiarized with
the geographic aspect of the San Joaquin Valley
in aboriginal times. Naturally enough, the
environment of the upper and lower foothills
has changed but little, whereas the great
valley floor was unbelievably different in the
past from the completely dry, hard plain it is
today. There is no better way to present the
picture of the past than to permit eyewitnesses
to speak for themselves. There were many
travelers in the area who left records of their
experiences with the troublesome mire of the
tule swamps and of their awe-struck admiration
for the scenery of the Sierra Nevada³ but no
account so well fits our purpose as that of
Lieutenant George H. Derby, who in May, 1850,
made a circuit of the valley for military re-

¹Cf. Techopik, *Navaho Pottery Making*, 70 ff.; Hill,
Navajo Pottery Manufacture, 16, as regards pit-firing in
the west Navajo area.

²Gayton, *Areal Affiliations of California Folktales*, 595.

³E.g., Estudillo, Fremont, Carson, Sumrell, Bidwell,
and others.

[P. 11b]

Property

421 Although there were no defined tribal
423 boundaries, customary usage gave people the
feeling of ownership of certain land. It was
not the land but the produce and game available
on it which was the matter for concern. In
this way there was a sense of tribal property
or "home land." As individuals, women rather
than men felt ownership of those places where
they and their mothers had gathered seeds.
Families did not own land, nor did the captains.
According to the Tachi informant (M.G.) a woman
went to one place to gather seeds and her
daughters went to the same place. Another
woman would not come there without invitation,
but went to her own patch. If she trespassed,
a quarrel ensued. A stake (šo'n:l) marked the
end of a woman's claim; a series of these
several feet apart might be set up to include
an area about forty feet square. Such plots
had no special name.³⁰ A woman had such a
special place for each type of seed. Her
daughters continued to use the plot after her
death; a sister might claim it if there were no
daughters. If there were no close female rela-
tives, M.G. thought it would be used by some
woman friend who belonged to the same moiety.

A young married woman returned to her
mother's plot to gather seeds. If it was too
far away, she remained at home to do the cook-
ing instead of going with her mother-in-law.
Her own mother would send or bring her food-
stuffs from time to time, but the mother-in-law
gave her nothing. The young woman cooked for
the entire family while her sisters-in-law went
with their mother to do the gathering. This,
[591] of course, was during patrilocal residence,
which was the customary home of newlyweds in
the lake area.

According to M.G., men did not own fishing
or hunting places even in the above sense (but
on this point a male informant's opinion is
needed). They went anywhere within tribal
[224] territory for game. Game was never sold, but
was often given to friends. Men gathered tule
roots more often than women, but whether the
men, like the women, had individual claims on
gathering places M.G. does not know.

SHELTER, SUBSISTENCE, UTENSILS, AND CRAFTS

Houses

● 342 No adequate description of houses was ob-
tained for the lake region. Two types are well
known, the long communal house and oval indi-
vidual house; but the gabled house pictured by

³⁰The informant insisted that this property marking
was a very old custom. The interpreter had never heard
the word for the marking stake until the older woman ex-
plained it to her, she claimed.

1: Gayton

E-5 (1925-1930) 1948

NS29 Yokuts NS29

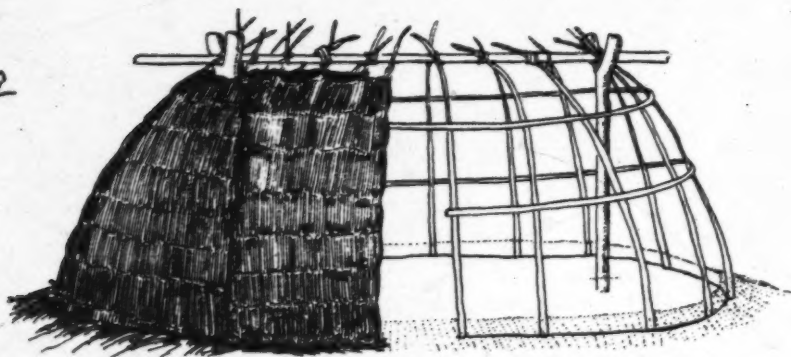
[P. 12]

Western Mono NS25

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

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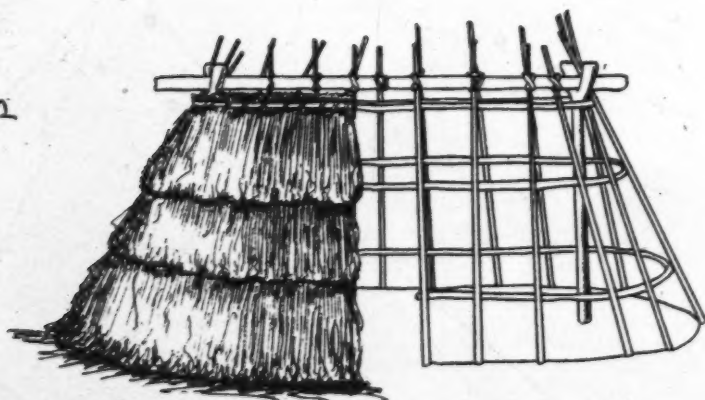
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Fig. 1. Yokuts and Western Mono oval houses. a. Valley and Central Foothill type, 2-post, mat-covered. b. Moksachi, 2-post, thatch-covered.

[P. 13a]

342 Powers, described by Kroeber, and presumably the one meant by Estudillo with his phrase "dobladas sus puntas" was declared unfamiliar by both informants.³¹ The conical house was not used here.

The house with oval floor plan and with walls arched into a rounded top was the most common type of dwelling in the valley area generally, according to J.A. and M.G. (fig. 1,a). Two forked posts linked by a tie-beam formed the basis of this structure. Upright poles of willow were set into the ground in an oval line around the center posts and the tips pulled inward and downward and tied to the center beam. Strengthening horizontal withes were tied around this framework. Large mats of tule were hung on the frame and pegged down to the ground. A slot was left along the center beam for the smoke to escape.

The tule mats which covered the frame were about 8 feet high and 10 to 12 feet long; their height roughly equalled the distance from the ground to the center beam. Truly rectangular mats were made by laying the tules alternately tip by butt to equalize the differences in their tip and butt diameters; such mats were used on side walls. For the rounded ends of the house somewhat fan-shaped mats were made by placing the tules butt by butt, thus giving a greater width at the base of the mat than at the top. Men gathered the tules, whereas women made the mats. The reeds, already sorted by size and length, were laid out on the ground. The individual stalks were held together by rows of single cords of milkweed twine looped once around each stem (a half-hitch may have been meant). The rows of binding cord were a hand-span (about 9 in.) apart. All the rows were worked forward at once rather than completed one at a time.

342 Technically, the long house was really an extension of the oval frame. There was a series of forked center posts supporting a continuous ridgepole formed by overlapping and lashing its units. The overlap did not have to coincide with an upright. Willow withes held the side poles, which were bent toward the center at their tips and were matched by a parallel withe on the exterior which held the tule mat covering in place; both withes were called tumlu''us. Smoke escaped through a long slot left at the ridgepole. The long communal house was partitioned by means of mats.

[592] Sections of the house were apportioned to sons' families, each family having its own fireplace, and, if the house were large, its own door. [354] Such a house was "just like a street, you could look right down the middle and see everybody's fire and what they were doing" (J.A.). The long house was covered with tule mats (woi'yohono; tule-covered house: woi'yohon ti).

³¹Powers, 370; Kroeber, Handbook, 521; Gayton, Estudillo, 83.

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342 The frame was called tumlu'us. The oval house was covered with mats of tule or, where available somewhat away from the lake, a grasslike shrub (kana'sits).

The floor of dwellings was not excavated in the lake area since moisture and flood water would seep or run in. Contrarily, if a house site on a rise of ground could not be obtained, the floor was artificially built up by bringing in baskets of earth. For the same reason sleeping places were raised up on a low framework of wood (willow). The Wowol particularly had these, and the Chunut and Tachi who bordered close on the lake. The usual tule mat flooring and bed padding were used.

[352]

Kroeber's statement on the long house is somewhat contradictory. It may be partly based on Powers' illustration.

... the mat-covered, gabled, communal kawi of the Tulamni, Hometwoli, Wowol, Chunut and perhaps Tachi. The roof pitch was steep. Probably each family constructed its own portion, with door to front and back, closed at night with tule mats. Each household had its own space and fireplace, but there were no partitions, and one could look through from end to end. These houses sometimes ran to a size where they accommodated a little more than 10 families. A shade porch extended along the front. The tule stalks were sewn together with an eyed bone needle and string of tule fiber.

The Yauelmani and their neighbors of the southern plains off the lake approached this long structure in aligning their wedge-shaped tule houses or dumlus, but kept each contiguous family domicile separate.

Kroeber goes on to describe the oval house, attributing it to the Wechihit and Tachi of modern times and stating that it may be made with or without a center ridgepole. The house mats were made by wrapping each stalk to the next with "a hitch in a single strand of string," whereas floor and bed mats were sewn. The Wechihit "use a covering of tall mohya stems, reaching from the ground to the ridge, and held in place by several horizontal poles lashed to the framework. This type of house was called te or chi."³

A Wechihit informant (J.At.) said houses in her village near Sanger were all mat covered and were placed in any order along the riverbank.

At Telweyt both long and oval houses were constructed. At Piaras, the village in Wolosi territory, the oval house covered with grass mats predominated. On the north shore of Tulare Lake Jeff Mayfield saw long houses of the Tachi.

The houses at the lake were the thing I noticed most. I do not remember having seen a

³Handbook, 521-522.

[P. 14a]

- 342 house there like those upstream. Generally they were built of thin tule mats and were quite long. Some of them were at least one hundred feet long. A sort of wooden ridge was erected on crotched poles set in the ground and the tule mats were leaned up against it. Everything else was of a more temporary nature than I was used to at Sycamore Creek (Choinimni territory).³³

- 342 A chief's house was usually larger than the rest, likewise his storehouses. J.A. remembers Konti's which stood on a rise of ground: 554 "he was always having little parties there." 622 The long house made possible the practice of patrilocal residence customary with the lake 184 people (but not with those of the foothills). 591 The bottoms of mat-covered storage bins 343 were raised off the ground. When a tree was available, a storage bin would be set up in its branches. Their construction was like that of the foothills (see Wukchumni). The ramada was used throughout the lake region.

Subsistence

- 22 The subsistence of the tular region was 262 composed mainly of water birds, fish, rabbits, and two staple flours made from iris seed and tule roots. According to M.G. deer meat was not obtainable even by trade, antelope being the only available large game animal. Bear meat, which the Tachi were not afraid to eat, was also scarce. Elk were too fleet for a hunter afoot, but were pursued on horseback. Weasels, coyotes, and lizards were not eaten; it is possible some people ate snakes. Bats 825 (8c'mem) were not eaten, as they were supernatural assistants. Rabbits, cottontails, and squirrels were got by hunters in communal drives on the barren country west of the lake. There long nets were set up and groups of men deployed to herd the creatures into them. Mayfield states that the men formed wings and, armed with sticks two feet long, closed in in a pair of arcs and incapacitated the fleeing animals by hurling the clubs at them.³⁴

- 231 The eating of dogs M.G. (Tachi) attributed to the Chumut. This practice Powers mentions as generalized Yokuts, saying that the Yokuts raised dogs for the purpose. Estudillo witnessed the killing and eating of dogs at a celebration near the foothills. However, a Kechayi informant denied the practice for her people with a circumstantial story,³⁵ and Mayfield does not mention it, so the usage may not have extended to the northern foothills.

³³Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 31.

³⁴Ibid., 33.

³⁵Powers, 379; Gayton, Estudillo, 75; Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72-73.

[P. 46 b] Paleuyami

622 Martha Altau's paternal grandfather, Owo'tono, was chief at the Paleuyami village of Altau. Her father, a Paleuyami, lived at Port Tejon, then moved up to Tule (Yao'witsani), where M.A. was born. A man named Mo'ipi was chief there. Her mother, Cowi'yit, was yo'weked, "from near Visalia," which I interpreted as Yokud. When M.A. was about fifteen years old they all moved up to the present reservation. M.A.'s information is not, then, strictly Paleuyami, but refers to the mixed culture, which was nevertheless essentially Southern Valley, manifest at Tule, a reservation near the present site of Porterville.

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342 The house types she recalls at Tule are those of adobe or boards.

323 Pottery she had seen, but never saw anyone make it. Her mother made only baskets. One woman, named Insi'man (Jennie), a Wakastmina (Waksachi), once brought a piece down to Tule.

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BURIAL

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At death the corpse was washed with cold water and a piece of old deerskin. The hair was washed with soaproot, dried, brushed, and arranged. All the best clothing and ornaments were put on it, and it was laid on deerskins in the center of the house, behind the fireplace, with the head toward the west or northwest (most houses faced south). The corpse was flexed, tied, and wrapped in deerskins at this time, and left in the same place and position. Anyone who wished might visit it and join in the wailing which was carried on all night. After the corpse was removed for burial, the house was burned. In the new house where they went to live, jimsonweed and a plant called golpo'pi¹⁰⁹ were burned to repel the spirit of the deceased.

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Meanwhile two men and two "women" (the latter transvestites, tono'čim) had dug the grave, using digging sticks and baskets. If, while digging, they came upon another burial, it was necessary that they crush the skull, remove the brains and taste a bit of them, otherwise they would die.

The following morning at dawn, the strongest of the four buriers¹¹⁰ carried the corpse in a net on his back to the grave. He walked around the grave three times before lowering his burden. Then he addressed the deceased, saying, "You're going where you're going; don't

¹⁰⁹This plant "smelled strong and had lots of balls on it."

¹¹⁰Such a carrier was Wili'hana, whom M.A. recalls.

[P. 48] Koyeti

KOYETI

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The following fragmentary notes were obtained from Dick Francisco (Yao'wi). At the time of my visit some personal difficulties of D.F.'s made him refuse to use any interpreter but his daughter, who proved hopelessly inadequate for her task.

D.F. was born at a rancheria on Deer Creek; his father and mother were both Koyeti -- "everybody who lived there was." They moved to Fort Tejon when he was very young; then after the first Ghost Dance they moved up to Tule [the older reservation where Porterville is now]. They were at Tejon during a big earthquake [1872]. While they lived at Tule there was a great flood which caused people to run to the hills.

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The Koyeti and Bankalachi were close and friendly neighbors.

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The houses on Deer Creek were mostly made of the large grass (?) rather than of tules.

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D.F. does not remember the name of his Koyeti village, or of any chief.¹¹⁷ He thinks there was "just one captain." But a powerful doctor, Maiye'mai (Manuel) was a well-known Koyeti. His power may have been from Eagle; he was "a good doctor and never killed anyone." He once cured Luisa Francisco, who was suffering from severe pains in her head. When he came to the house, he saw a "devil" (h'itwai'lya: malevolent ghost, "devil") standing by the door "and he knew that was what scared her." To effect the cure he did not cut, but fanned her with an eagle feather and "puffed." However, Maiyemai cured other types of sickness by cutting and sucking.

¹¹⁷Another informant, B.J.A., from Fort Tejon claims that Dick Francisco was a winatum there.

EP. 49c] Tulamni

TULAMNI

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114 A unique though brief account of native culture in the extreme south of the San Joaquin Valley is preserved in the records of Pedro Pages, soldier, explorer, and eventually governor in Spanish California.¹²⁰ He was the first European known to have entered the San Joaquin Valley officially when, in the fall of 1772, he crossed the head of the valley from Grapevine Cañon westward toward San Luis Obispo. Although no tribal names are mentioned in Pages' account, on the basis of his routing we may assume that his descriptions derive from the Tulamni and perhaps the Hometwali and Yauelmani. The following notes are a condensation of his account.

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301 Dress.--Men wore a cloak which reached to the waist; some cloaks were made of grouse skins. They bound their hair with strings of beads into which such articles as the antelope-horn tobacco container might be thrust. That men "smeared their heads in the form of the cross ... with white mud," ~~may~~ mean that a mud helmet like that of the Mohave was in vogue, or it may refer to a mere mark. To the chiefs Pages attributes "cloaks adorned with feathers" and "a great coiffure of false hair folded back upon their own." One suspects a misinterpretation of office here: they were probably ceremonial figures, but because of their elaborate dress were thought to be chiefs. The women dressed like those of San Luis Obispo,¹²¹ which probably means they wore deer-skin aprons as well as grass ones. Their hair was banged (toupe) and braided. Babies were wrapped in pelican skins.

[854] ● 342 Houses.--Dwellings were arranged "like a chain" (in rows) with storehouses for food and implements in front of each. But Pages states it somewhat differently in his diary of 1772:

[361] All this plain is very thickly settled with many and large villages....In their

¹²⁰See Bolton, In the San Joaquin ahead of Garcés; Pages, x, 72-76.

¹²¹Pages, 49.

[P. 49d] TULAMNI

TULAMNI

342 villages the natives live in the winter in very
361 large squares, the families divided from each
other, and outside they have very large houses
in the form of hemispheres where they keep
their seeds and utensils.

412 Utensils.---A metatelite stone mortar,
"jars of the same material" (probably steatite
vessels), and pattern baskets are mentioned.
Skins were used for bedding.

262 Foods.---Pages speaks at length of the
136 animal and vegetable foods available, and, like
all early travelers in the region, dwells on
their abundance. Of water birds he mentions
white, black, and brown geese, ducks, cranes,
and white pelicans. He remarks on grouse,
"multitudes of quail ... more savory than those
of Spain," and many small birds such as
[231] swallows and larks. Eagles measuring "fifteen
spans from tip to tip" were seen; eaglets were
raised and domesticated but were not eaten. Of
land animals, wild sheep, antelope, elk, and
deer abounded, and "across the river" [in the
Sierra Nevada foothills on the east side of the
valley ?] were "buffaloes [sic], bears, wild-
cats, wolves [sic], coyotes, ferrets and foxes";
in the Santa Lucia range there were panthers
[cougar ?].

Of fish there was "an abundance of all
species." Seals and otters occurred "as far as
one hundred and fifty leagues [sic] upstream in
the Rio de San Francisco [San Joaquin River and
sloughs]."

262 Several familiar vegetable foods are men-
137 tioned. Three varieties of oak produced acorns,
which were prepared by the usual processes of
drying, grinding, and leaching. Soaproot, used
for washing, was also eaten roasted, as were
other tuberous roots and bulbs. Cattail roots
were made into flour, and the blossoms into a
yellow bread. We can guess that manzanita
cider is meant by the "very refreshing drink,
somewhat acid" made by soaking the pulp of the
fruit of a certain shrub in water. Reeds were
dried so that the crystallized juice [sic]

[P. 5/a] Tubatu/ba/ 1329

159 father and is older than F.M., now lives up at
Onyx.¹²⁶

756 Mayemai, the shaman, lived at Sototlo;
there was another one whose name is not re-
called. Poi'in, the shaman mother of Watisti,
was a Bankalachi.

221 The village broke up during the summer,
the families combining in groups of twos and
threes for summer camps in the mountains.
Little circular brush corrals were built for
shelter. They remained out one or two months
while the women gathered seeds.

When F.M. was about eighteen years old
they moved up to Tule and later, with others,
to the present reservation.

621 131 F.M. named a few sites, the location of
which I was unable fully to determine. Sototlo
village, on Deer Creek, he locates six miles
south of Tule River junction, which places both
it and another Bankalachi village, Čena¹²⁷ in
Bokminuad territory if we follow Kroeber's
map.¹²⁷ Another village, 'n¹²⁸wao, was east of
Čena¹²⁸. Tonočim (transvestite) is the name of
a little hill just above F.M.'s house on the
present Tule River Reservation. The rock
quarry, near the Monachi Golf Club, is at a
spot called Toi'yo, which F.M. says refers to
eagles' nests that were there. The first
reservation, called Tule by all the Indians who
refer to it, was at what is now Houghton's
Corner on the eastern outskirts of Porterville.

STRUCTURES

342 Houses at Sototlo were conical, never
gabled. There was no ring at the apex, as in
conical houses farther north: the smoke "just
went out where the brush came together at the
top." When tule (pu'muk) was obtainable, sewn
mats for covering were made of it. Usually
large grasslike "brush" called kana'sits was
twined into mats some 3 to 4 feet long and
about 3 feet deep: the rows of twining were
about 12 inches apart. It took six to eight
mats to cover a house. The fire was in the
center; the fireplace had no special name. The
"brush" house was called ya'w:l ti'1; that
covered with tule, pumuk t'i'1.¹²⁹

343 The sweat house was a single-post affair.
The earth was excavated for about two feet. No
side walls were attempted.¹²⁹ The radiating
roof poles were tied to the top of the center
pole. After interstices were filled with
"brush," earth was thrown over all. There was

¹²⁶See Voegelin, 7.

¹²⁷Handbook, pl. 47. F.M. claimed ignorance of any people
called Bokminuad.

¹²⁸This informant, like most dwellers at the Tule River
Reservation, speaks Yauelumni.

¹²⁹Cf. neighboring southern California sweat houses
(Kroeber, Handbook, pls. 56 and 60).

[P. 57a] Wukchumni

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the families in Diapnuša would move within about two weeks of each other. They went in groups: some were related families, others just bound by friendship. Infirm people did not go, being left with food and occasionally visited. The summer encampment lasted until late summer or early fall (wusa'o), the villagers returning in time to prepare for the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Following on that was the season of acorn gathering.

[131]

J.B.'s family went with a group of other families to Šiye'du, a seed-gathering camp near the present site of Moffett (no. 39), a distance of about four miles. It was near Yokod territory. The original source of the water there now, unless a spring, was not known to J.B., for even in his childhood an irrigation ditch flowed near by. Referring to their own

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house there, J.B. said his "father put up the frame while [his] mother made and tied on the grass skirt. No one helped with this; every-

[342]

body made his own house." Necessary and valuable belongings were taken along. The women of the camp kept mortars buried there as

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no bedrock was available.

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There were six houses at Šiyedu, all of the conical, grass-thatched type, of sound construction so that they were merely repaired from year to year. Two of them later were permanently occupied by two men who worked on a neighboring ranch [Hangton's?]. There was no special arrangement in the location of the dwellings.

The house occupants were:

1. The chief, Muṭoṇi (J.B.'s father's sister's husband); Waohet (Muṭoṇi's daughter) and her husband Ya'ni (J.B.'s half-brother through marriage (does he mean brother-in-law because it is a cousin's husband?)). Yani and Waohet later lived there permanently.

2. The winatum, Pokoi (J.B.'s father), his wife Mo'wuc (J.B.'s mother), To'pino (J.B. himself), and Kiwi'ya (J.B.'s half-brother) "when he wasn't working."

3. Ka'oses (J.B.'s mother's sister's son) and his wife Po'o'tao (a Yaudanchi, Camḍusan's daughter). They had no children.

4. Pono'to (Bill Garfield), his wife Huisea'na, and their son Wi'aleče (Sam Garfield). Other children not known to J.B. These people were not related to any of the families mentioned above.

5. It'awi'i'yu (a Wukchumni-Patwisha) and his Patwisha wife (name not recalled).

6. Wati'sti (a Bankalachi shaman), his mother Poi'i'n³² (also Bankalachi), his Yaudanchi wife (name not recalled), and her son Camu'ma (Charlie, of a Yaudanchi father).

J.B. said that for all there were only these six families at Šiyedu in his youth, in his father's time there were many, many more.

³²Consistently pronounced Bo'wian by J.B.

CP. 59 67

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24. patwi 'sa: westernmost Patwisha village; there was a painted rock there from which women copied basket patterns ²⁴³
25. bai'o na: Mineral King peak in the high Sierra Nevada
26. sadama'o: a sharp peak
27. usta nyu: hill east of Lemon Cove
28. guta'o
29. ho'ganu: Wukchumni village; location called "Iron Bridge" (across river) in English
30. doi'yo
31. sai'wita'o
32. dai'a'pnu: hill west of Lemon Cove
33. dai'apnu 'sa: Wukchumni village; present site of Lemon Cove
34. pada'o
35. pupuna'o
36. kuc'npida'o: called "dog road," reason for name not known; a Wukchumni seed-gathering site
37. sa'nanh'enta'o: meaning "someone killed," the hill above Goodale ranch
38. mu'nu'npida'o: trail between the hills west of Lemon Cove
39. siye du: summer seed-gathering camp of people from no. 33; present site of Moffett
40. laik'u'mnyu
41. yoko'li: Yokod village
42. gaha'sana'o
43. sun'ta'o: recent Chunut rancheria, about 1890-1910; not definitely located
44. yuna'pyu: Drum Valley
45. wada'mao: Bowman Ranch
46. wa'una'o: Button Willow Peak (2269 ft.), above Drum Valley schoolhouse
47. nauwi'tinyu: Corn Jack Peak (2000 ft.), hill south of Drum Valley schoolhouse
48. pa'fik'na'o: rock with pictographs on Cutler Ranch; a shaman's cache
49. cho'ho'mina'o: Bear Mountain east of Aukland

Locations indefinite: sa'sa' 'sa (no. 8), not positive; gutao (no. 35), Ed Morris (Morse?) Ranch; dudu' dyu, Arthur Ragle's (?) place, an old Wukchumni campsite; si'hoi'li, Stokes Flat (?); dono'wiyu; dai' "o'e; pupu'na (a quarry on Lime Kiln Creek called "shoot rocks"; an enamele-pestic name?)

SHELTER, DRESS, BODILY ORNAMENT

Structures

- 342 The Central Foothill culture included structures of both mountain and valley types.
- 343 The sweat house was practically without variation, but dwellings were of bark-slab type, brush or grass thatch, or covered with tule mats, according to the availability of these materials. The type of storehouse built was governed by the same consideration. The ramada was much used even in the mountains. Lean-to's were built only at campsites, where even permanent house frames were often established.

²⁴³ Perhaps one of the localities referred to in Latta, California Indian Folklore, 75-79.

[P. 61 b]

343

[824]

one each side of the entrance. Manzanita wood about one inch thick was preferred, as its smoke was believed to be less irritating to the eyes than that of other woods.¹⁴⁹ About the edges of the room lay such tule mats as various individuals brought in for their own comfort. A flute-player might habitually thrust his flute up into some little cranny at the roof's edge (J.P., S.G.).

Kroeber's unlocalized description of the Yokuts sweat house agrees in general with the above.¹⁵⁰

The sweat house, mosh or mog, is a true sudatory, oblong, dug down several feet, with a ridge log resting on two posts at the ends, and dirt covered. It was small, not over 15 feet in length, and in no sense a dance house or assembly chamber.... The door faced the creek, or south, and was sometimes sheltered by parallel wind-breaks.

The single-post sweat house differed from the larger form only in size and in the relation of roof poles to center post. The center post was forked and supported a few radiating roof poles laid into its crotch. Others were laid against these, and the resulting bunch of pole ends were lashed together and about the post with coarse rope. The interstices were filled with slender rods, and the whole covered like the larger form. No door frame was made, the doorway being merely a narrow opening between poles spaced apart for the purpose (J.P., S.G.).

The Yaudanchi sweat house was a two-post affair. The floor was excavated about two feet. Then a frame of sticks radiating from a center beam to the ground was lashed in place, a willow roof laid over it, and the whole thing covered with mud. The doorway was about 4 feet by 4 feet, which seems excessively wide. The fire was just within the entrance. About ten men were accommodated. Any man was free to enter and sweat, but youths did not attempt it until about twenty years old. Usually there were two singers who sang during the evening sweat.

342

Dwellings.---The construction of a house was a family affair; friends helped each other only when assistance was a physical necessity to the builder. Some men might build a little house for an old woman who had no relatives, but more often such a person would take up residence in an abandoned house or vacant storehouse. The work of house-building was divided. The man of the family obtained the poles and heavy withes for the framework, dug out the floor space, and set up the framework. In the

¹⁴⁹The Wintu also preferred manzanita wood (Du Bois, Wintu, 122).

¹⁵⁰Handbook, 522, 523.

[text continues on p. 63a]

1: Gayton

E-5

(1925-1930)

1948

NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 62]

Western Mono NS25

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

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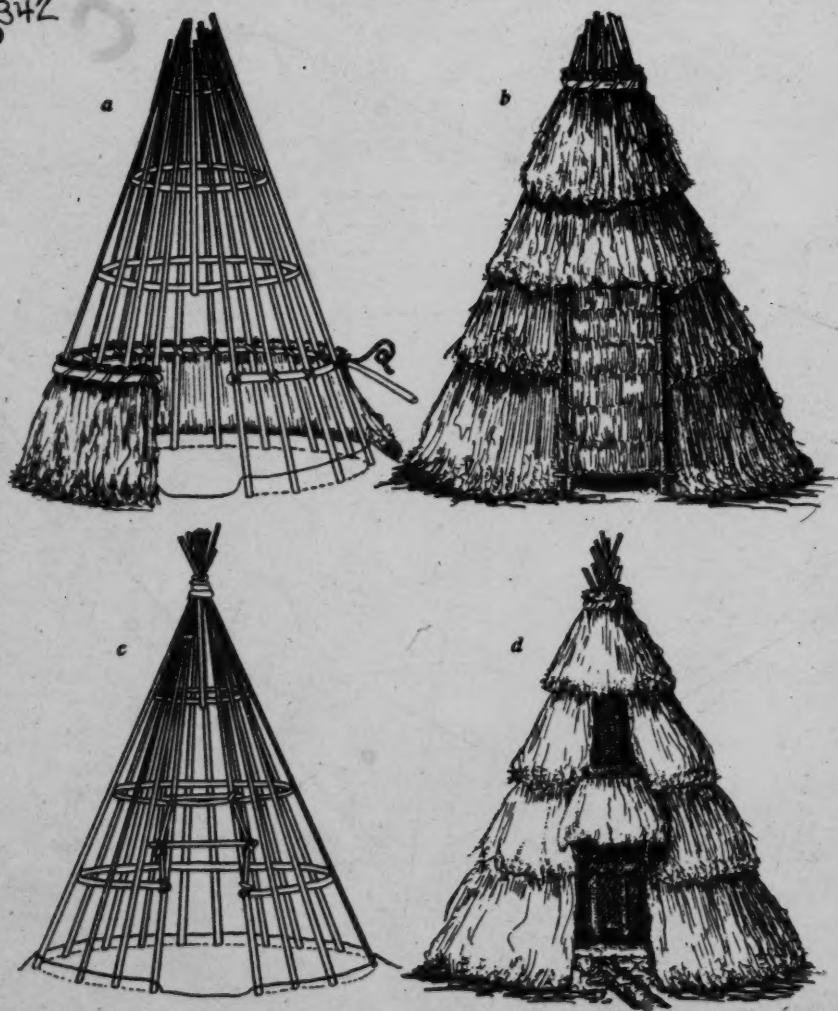


Fig. 5. Yokuts and Western Mono conical houses. a, b, Central Foothill type with inner ring at smoke vent and mat door. c, d, Chukchansi type with smoke vent and rain shed over door (after Rogers).

[P. 639]

342 meantime the cover, whether thatch or mat, was prepared by the wife and other female relatives who had a personal interest in the dwelling. The lower layers of covering were tied on by women, but the upper layers, which could be reached only by climbing on the frame, were fastened by the man.

342 592 The size of the house depended upon the needs of the family, that is, the number of persons in the household and the amount of entertaining to be done. A chief, though perhaps having a small family, would always have a large dwelling because he was frequently visited. If decrepit relatives crowded a home, a small house, which was often little more than a hovel, would be built for them near by. (The ancient mother-in-law of one informant was living in such circumstances.)

342 In the Central Foothill section houses with a conical framework predominated. A house of any type was called *t'i'*, those covered with brush, *t'i' yao' w:l* (yao' w:l, brush or tall grass), those covered with tule, *pu muk* (round tule). The name of the bark house was not obtained: Kroeber gives it as *samish*.¹⁵¹ Among the Gawia and Yokod the tule-covered house predominated. The Wukchumni house was commonly brush- and grass-thatched, though tule was preferred when obtainable, as at Gutsnumi. For them, the bark house was rare, whereas the tule house was rare for the Patwisha, who used brush and bark coverings about equally. Kroeber states that the common Yaudanchi house, called *te*, had a conical framework and sewed tule mat covering, although the ridged house, with a fireplace and door at either end, was also known to them. They made use of a special species of tule called *shuyo'* growing in the vicinity.¹⁵²

The first step in building a house was outlining its circular area on the site selected. There is a difference of opinion among informants as to the hollowing of the floor: perhaps this feature varied with each builder's preference. Certainly the floor was never lowered more than a foot, but at least a slight cavity was made to brace the frame poles. For the conical house three oak poles were tied together near their tips and set up as a tripod. Two poles were closer to each other than to the third; these became the door frame, while the third was opposite, at the back of the house. Other poles were then leaned into the crotch at the apex; they were spaced 18 inches to 2 feet apart. The length of the poles depended upon the diameter of the house, which in the conical form was some 6 to 9 feet. The butts of

[283] all poles were embedded in the ground at the edges of the floor cavity. They were held in place by horizontal bands of pliable willow bound on with *ho'*. The first was about a foot above the ground, others, of which there might

¹⁵¹Ibid., 522.

¹⁵²Ibid.

[P. 63 b]

342 be three or four, above it. The topmost band was actually a small ring about 18 inches in diameter inside the pole tops which were spread apart by it: it served as a smoke hole as no covering was placed above it (fig. 5, a, b).

The thatch covering was made by twining together in long sections small bunches of fine willow or long fine grass. The grasses were placed head downward the better to shed water. These skirtlike sections were held in place by long willow strips running around outside of and parallel to the inner horizontal frame bands. The exterior band and thatch were bound to the interior band with ho'. An upper layer of thatch overlapped its lower neighbor by about one foot. When a house leaked, which was claimed to be only in prolonged rainstorms which soaked the grasses, a bundle of thatch or a tule mat was fastened over the weak spot.³³³

[285] A panel door was made by tying a specially made mat of tule or willow to a framework of willow or young alder. Normally this leaned against the house at one side of the doorway, but in bad weather, the only occasion for its use, it was tied over the door from the inside. Skins were not hung over the doorway. Storehouses were supplied with little doors tied on from the outside.

[354] The fireplace was always in a small hollow in the center of the house. In the summer, however, domestic fires were most frequently built outside under the ramada. The floor was covered with tule mats, several of which were piled together to make comfortable sleeping places. Baskets, articles in frequent use, and valuables were stored around the outer edges of the room. Cooking stones, stone-lifters, and mush-stirrer remained by the fireplace. Overhead one or more rods, whose ends rested on the horizontal frame bands, served as a place to hang articles; a special kind of hanging basket was made for this use. Small valuables were often hidden in the upper thatch or between mats. (M.L., J.P., S.G.) The most desirable

[574] place for sitting during the daytime was just inside the door. At night, and when sleeping, a guest was placed at the center back.

342 Mats were rarely used on a conical frame as they were not readily adaptable to its shape. 285 They were twined of fine willow or tule, varied from 2 to 4 feet in width, and were about 6 feet long. Four or five mats were needed to cover a house of average size; they were tied on with milkweed string. Such mats could be removed from one house to another and were convenient to roll up and take to summer camp. One informant (M.L.) stated that tule house mats were sewed, not twined, a method

[178] ³³⁰No native-type houses are in use today. Two normal-sized but poorly built grass thatch houses, which had been made for show purposes, were seen by the recorder at Squaw Valley in 1927. They had been built by Chukatinas living there.

[P. 64 a]

342 which Kroeber mentions for Yaudanchi and the
285 lake peoples.¹⁵⁰

342 The oval house was also frequently built
in the lower foothills. Most of the houses at
the Wukchumni village of Gutsunmi were of this
form, as were those of the Gavia and Yokod
though they did not reach the extreme dimen-
sions of the lake region long houses.

To start construction two forked posts
were erected and a ridgepole laid between them.
Side and end poles with pliable tips were
braced in the ground at the periphery of the
floor area and bent toward the ridgepole to
which their tips were lashed with ho'. As with
the conical house, horizontal side braces were
lashed on. The oblong house was never thatched
but was covered with twined or sewed tule mats.

[184] These were tied to the framework and, in ex-
pectation of stormy weather, were bound down by
a lashed on, outside with. No smoke hole was
left, the smoke merely escaping through the
rough slotlike aperture along the ridgepole.
The oval house of the Central Foothills was not
usually divided into compartments as it was in
the lake region.

The bark house was of necessity smaller in
size than the thatched or mat-covered type.
Kroeber's unlocalized description of the bark
house may serve here, as this structure was not
well known to Wukchumni informants.¹⁵¹

A bark house of similar type (conical) is
called gamish. Sometimes bark is first leaned
against the framework as a partial covering,

¹⁵⁰Handbook, 521, 522.

¹⁵¹Ibid., 522.

[P. 64 b]

342 then brush thatch added, and the whole held fast by bands of pliable poles or withes tied around.

343 The bark lean-to, with which Wukchumni and Patwisha were familiar, was used by them at summer camps in the higher hills where cedar and pine bark were obtainable. The structure was started by setting in the ground a forked post 4 or 5 feet high. Into its crotch were laid poles which radiated in a half-circle. Spaces were filled in with more slender poles, and against the whole were leaned overlapping slabs of bark stripped from fallen or decaying trees. Earth was piled against the base both outside and inside to keep the pole and slab butts in place. (M.L., J.P.)

The brush lean-to, particularly used by women at seed-gathering camps, was semi-dome-shaped in form. The earth was dug away slightly from a half-circle. Two pliable poles were set down in holes at the points of the half-circle. Their tips were drawn together, overlapped, and bound in place. Two or three other poles were set up along the curve, bent forward, and tied to the arc. Loose scraggy brush was piled up against this crude frame, and, if a tule mat had been brought along, it would be tied over the top. Such a lean-to served not as a shelter, but as a shade. Women had such shades, often completely hemispherical, built over their bedrock mortars (fig. 6).³⁵⁶ (M.L., M.P.)

³⁵⁶The type of shelter depicted by Clifford (Northfork Memo, pl. 3, b) may or may not be of similar construction, but the finished effect is like that described by my informants.

[P. 126 b] Wukchumavi

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[342]

I counted 437 able-bodied young men on the walk I took faround the villagel, and about 600 women and children all placed before this village. Across the front of the rancheria I counted 358 double paces (*pasos dobles*) which makes 624 yards [*varas*], and across its back 432 paces or 756 yards in the form of an im-perfect half moon. All [the houses] are of mats and willow branches. In front of the rancheria were guests, all separated, where I directed myself along with the captains who accompanied me. Each of them were in little groups; thus men, women, and children were presented to me, and it was not possible to count them as I had done with the Chischas. However, the number of young men was not less than 600, and some 200 younger women.

[561]

[252]

When I walked behind the Rancheria of Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo which was near by. On its banks, I found more than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for the atoles of the guests, while younger ones were grinding seeds on stones as is their custom Its [Chischal] people, and those of their neighboring friends who were found assembled, presented in number some 2400 persons, all of comely appearance.

Some two hundred more we discovered in hiding, and later over one hundred visitors came from another rancheria.

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The visitors brought with them their own mats and blankets, shiny sticks, and gambling equipment. Games and gambling were frowned upon at the site of the ceremony, but during the week of the ceremony men who wanted to play shiny might do so if they went beyond shouting distance from the assembly.

Ritual Weeping; Effigy-Making

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[532]

Events during the six days of the ceremony followed a definite program. Since the introduction of European culture, and perhaps owing to early Spanish-Catholic influence, the period has been equated with weekdays so that the night of crying fell on Saturday night, the washing, feasting, and aftermath of celebration on Sunday. The plan of events was this: the first day or two (Monday and Tuesday) guests began arriving, and the bereaved families spent their time making the effigy dolls; on the third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the Huhuna Dance was performed -- on the third if a minor or "warming-up" contest of shamans was to be given on the fourth; on the fifth (Friday) the Shamans' Contest; on the sixth evening, the burning of effigies; and on the seventh day (Sunday) the ritual washing and feasting. The native feeling was that the effigy burning and subsequent washing and celebrating all constituted "one day," i.e., the sixth, which is not illogical as the events continued from Saturday evening until Sunday evening without break for sleep or rest.

[EP. 1456] Westraw Mono NS25

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- Wobonuch sites:
14. sui nawe
 15. suina weta mapa 'dow:n: suinawe
- Junction or fork
16. paha 'wet': meaning "pestle place"
 17. kini 'dewet': Sacata Fiat
 18. sasi 'wet': fishing camp; given as sasi 'we by D.S.
 19. wiya 'ma: Oak Mountain

STRUCTURES

Y
● 342

Dwellings.---A house was called tomo 'h:š, and was probably hemispherical, not conical nor gabled, if my understanding of P.D.W.'s description is correct. The frame was called sutu w:ts, the term for the material used, and was covered with a thatch, not mats, of a "brush" called ai 'ač, which was tied on with ho'. This grassy "brush" had the quality of matting when wet, so it was practically waterproof. The floor was not dug out "except to make a good sleeping place" (possibly individual hollows filled with bark and tule mats). The doorway of the house was called ti 'š:š, covered with a removable door of twined aiach fastened on a frame.

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A dome-shaped earth lodge was used by the Choinimni, according to Mayfield; his circumstantial description fills an omission in Kroeber's data and my own. This lodge was circular, excavated about two feet deep. Willow poles were abutted in the walls about six inches apart, their tips then bent inward and tied to a wood hoop. Other circular, horizontal withes were lashed around the frame. "Around and over this frame were stood tules to a depth of about ten or twelve inches. Then the soil was thrown over the tules to a depth of several inches. After a few years grass grew over the house and it looked like an underground house or cellar." The floor was covered thickly with tule mats, with extra layers at the sleeping places. Rabbitskin blankets and, if obtainable, bearskins were used as bed-coverings in winter. Save for sleeping, the house was used only in bad weather, when a fire was made in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping directly above. Otherwise all food preparation, cooking, and eating were done outside.⁶

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[352]

The average-sized house comfortably held a family of six. No ceremonies took place in it, though a man might dance or a flutist play if he were asked, or someone might sing. The hand game (henao 'ša) was played there.

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Storehouses.---Little thatched storehouses (wič'i ti: literally, little house) were built close to the dwelling. There the men of the family kept their dance regalia and their materials (sinew, hides, drills, feathers, etc.) for making various things, as well as

⁶Letts, op. cit., 22-23.

[P. 155a] DUMNA

131 The type of country in which the Northern
175 Poothill Yokuts dwelt was praised by Major
Savage. He described it as land of the "Chow-
chillas," but in recent times Western Mono have
occupied the area and may have then.

131 This belt of country [Sandhill Crane
136 Valley on North Fork of the San Joaquin] beats
175 the region of the Yosemite or the Po-ho-no
Meadows for game, if the Indians tell the
truth; and with the exception of the Kern River
Country, it is the best south of the Tuolumne
River. It abounds in grizzly and cinnamon
bears, and there are some black bears. Deer
are very plenty, and a good variety of crane,
grouse, quail, pigeons, road-runners, squirrels
and rabbits -- besides, in their season, water
fowl. This territory of the Chow-chillas has
plenty of black acorns (their favorite acorn),
and besides this there are plenty of other
supplies of bulbous roots.³⁷

SHELTER, FOOD, IMPLEMENTS

343 Structures.---There were six different
sweat houses (mos) at B.W.'s Dumna village;
they were of different ages and sizes, two of
them in disrepair.³⁸ When a new sweat house
was completed, a "fandango" was given by the
chief. B.W. could not describe this, save that
[574] there was "plenty to eat and everybody had a
good time. Then they could sweat."

● 342 The houses (sa'nis), large and spherical,
were covered with "brush" thatch, not tule.

Foods and beverages.---Pine nuts (pa'san)
222 were obtained on trips up to the mountains or
262 were brought down for trade by the Kechayi.
The pine cone and pine tree were called ton;
pasan also meant the split pine cone.

252 Manzanita cider (a'pëu) was made of the
272 ripe berries which were mashed and freed of
their seeds. The pulp was put in water for
several hours, then the liquid was strained
through a basket sieve. A hot tealike drink
(8i't:l) was made by pouring hot water on the
pulp; the pulp, with a little water, was eaten
as a "mush" and called 8a'pi. A thickening
material called 8a'nit was pounded up and added
sometimes [8a'nit not identified].

411 Implements.---The plain bow (miko'n) was
made of pine, but was gotten by trade from the
Kechayi or Peggisa, as was also the sinew-
backed bow (piki'l). All kinds [sic] of arrows
were called tuyo's.

412 A knife for scraping was made from the rib
bones of a deer or any other large animal.

227 For fishing, a hook (mike') was made of
"some piece of bone which was boiled to make it
soft and then it was bent." This was used on

[262] a string for angling [European introduction ?].
Small fish eaten were: polhu'i, (sucker),
was8a' (lamprey eel), and lu'pi8 (brook trout).

³⁷Quoted, *ibid.*, 116.

³⁸"Too old to be any good, just like I am now," said B.W.

[P. 160b] Kechayi

619 together to gather acorns, just as the Wuk-
222 chummi (J.B.) mentioned for the seed-gathering
camps in the Central Foothill region.

648 In spite of the somewhat inimical rela-
439 tions with the Monachi, or Eastern Mono, a
lively trade was carried on between Yokuts and
Mono to exchange the products, natural and
manufactured, of the valley and mountain
regions. In this trade the Western Mono (Yay-
anchi, Posgisa, etc.) were the middlemen. The
Monachi came over as far as Auberry, bringing
rabbit-skin blankets (ye g:s), moccasins, rock
salt (obo'ko), red and blue paint, and pine
nuts. In exchange they received acorns, willow-
bark baskets, and bead money (Mili'mki). The
bead money the middlemen had received in pay-
ment from the foothill Yokuts, who, in turn,
got it from the valley Yokuts in exchange for
deer meat, oak wood (ti'h:n), and stone mortars
and pestles, all of which were lacking in the
lower lake and barren northern valley region.

The expeditions for trade were made by the
Monachi: E.M. said "nobody from this side ever
went over there." It is possible that the
general direction of trade expeditions was
westward -- Eastern to Western Mono, Western
Mono to foothill Yokuts, foothill Yokuts to
valley Yokuts,⁴⁹ and valley Yokuts to the
Chumash and Salinan on the coast.

Localities

101 Few sites or localities could be named by
103 E.M.; these have not been mapped.
361

abo'lu'i: a Kechayi village on the San
Joaquin River not far from Auberry

owo'mniu: a Posgisa (?) village at the
edge of Table Mountain

su'mhun: a village at the junction of
Pine Gold Creek and the San Joaquin River

sanwo'ganiu: Dumna village on the San
Joaquin River [the Millerton Court House stood
on the spot]⁵⁰

taka'tipao: Kechayi territory or pa'an
in general

aco'po: unlocated

kumku'm: "humming bird place"; not
located, a saloon there where Hai'ai'ic: got
liquor

koko'h:p: Sycamore

STRUCTURES

● 342 Dwellings.--The houses of the Kechayi were
of the hemispherical thatched type. The floor
(wa'ai) was circular, about 10 feet in di-
ameter, and excavated for about 18 inches.

⁴⁹See the Choiniami trips to the Tachi in Letta, Uncle
Jeff's Story, 29 ff.

⁵⁰Although E.M. calls the village sanwo'ganyu, the word
is actually Penutianized "San Joaquin" and is applied to
the river also.

CP. 161 [K] Kechayi

- 342 Poles (lo 'kot) of any pliable wood were set within the edge of the depression, and were held in position by horizontal bands of willow withes (ka 'pai). There would be three or four of these bands, each one smaller than the preceding, constricting the frame poles in a globular (not conical) form. The last ring (awa nač), about 20 inches in diameter, had the tips of the side poles tied to it; the poles did not extend through it. The nearly upright sides of the dwelling were lined on the inside with vertical strips of cedar or pine bark (šolo 'pi'). Thatching was of "any kind of long weeds" (šigl (ko 'osn:l)).³¹ This E.M. thought was not twined, but was inserted in bunches under the horizontal withes lashed down over it. Mats were not used.

The doorway (palu 'an) was covered with a twined mat of "weeds" stiffened by lashing on a frame. On each side of the door were two extra poles, parallel with those of the door frame, behind which the mat door was slipped to keep it from tipping over.

[354]

The fire was in the center.

An earth-covered house was known but evidently little used by the Kechayi: "plains people used them more." The frame was hemispherical, like that of the thatched house, and the structure had an excavated floor. After the "weeds" were tied on "dirt was thrown all over it." The entrance was in the side (not through the smoke hole) and had a separate mat-covered door. In short, it seems to have been the usual Kechayi house with a covering of earth, and similar to that of the Choinimni. Like all Kechayi houses this was a one-family dwelling.

Houses of the Northern Foothill district never had more than one room. During the day a position on either side of the door was considered desirable, "because there was no smoke there." But at night a guest always had the place at the center back, the warmest and safest. In summer, fires were outdoors.

[574]

Husband and wife joined in the construction of their house, the man looking after the framework, the woman after the thatch. Men tied on the upper layers of thatch, as climbing was not seemly for women. There was a sense of joint ownership and, upon divorce, the offending party was expected to abandon the dwelling.

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Houses of a village were set out in a row if the site permitted; if it did not, any arrangement was permissible. Regardless of his moiety, a chief's house was always placed at the west end. No other house had a special location.

535

Dance house.---The Miwok "round house" was known to the people on the San Joaquin River, but it was not imitated. No dances or cere-

³¹There was undoubtedly some preferred material, as suggested by the name E.M. offered, but she couldn't or wouldn't identify it.

[P. 186 a] Chukchansi

STRUCTURES

343 Sweat house.--The Chukchansi sweat house was circular, some 18 to 20 feet in diameter. The floor was excavated about 3 feet, and the earth packed down hard. The supporting frame was of pine trunks about 5 inches thick (number not mentioned). The door was 4 or 5 feet high, 2 feet wide, with no door covering. A smoke hole was left in the center of the roof, which was about 8 feet high at that point.¹⁰⁰ The roof beams were of green live oak saplings, and on these was piled a thick layer of chaparral brush, leaves, and lastly earth. The fire was just within the door so that one had to jump over it in entering.

343 The usual sweat house held ten to twelve
515 men sitting or lying close together. Very old
517 and very young men did not use it. Some men
slept there. For sweating they went there
about 10 a.m. and about 3 to 4 p.m. After
sweating they went to swim in a pool especially
dug or enlarged for that purpose. At Gratiu
(Picayune) there were two sweat houses in use:
"you went to either one you wanted to." At
Aplau, another Chukchansi village, there was
but one sweat house.

[533] There was no special ceremony on the completion of a sweat house. Men would gather there as soon as it was ready and just sing for pleasure, as an expression of happiness. The informant M.N. said that sometimes the hand game was played inside and often men amused themselves by having a sweating contest; more and more wood was added to the fire until the last man was forced out by the intense heat.

[524] No ceremony was held in the sweat house; no dancing, "just singing" (J.R.). As an example of songs men sang in the sweat house,
[533] C.D. gave the following:

Go see
You too
I'm going up north
Go out
You too

Only men used the sweat house, according to most informants, but M.N. said, after the men got through and went out, women went in.

342 Dwellings.--The Chukchansi dwelling was a conical thatched house (fig. 5, c, d, Pt. I). When the circumference was laid out, usually about 12 to 14 feet in diameter, postholes about 18 inches apart were dug all around it. The space between the door poles, however, was about 8 inches wider than the rest. All informants stated that the frame poles were bunched together at the top (the characteristic Yokuts hoop being absent), "so water couldn't come through."¹⁰¹ About four horizontal withes

[184]

[177] ¹⁰⁰This sounds like the Miwok 4-post type. -- A.H.O.

¹⁰¹Kroeber, however, credits the Chukchansi conical house with a ring at the apex (Handbook, 522).

[P. 186b] Chukchansi

- 342 were lashed around the frame poles, ending, of course, each side of the doorway. To these were lashed bunches of tarweed (a 'mas, N.W.; tot, M.N.); pine needles (maya, N.W.) and another pine growing at a higher altitude (inil, N.W.; cedar?) was also used for thatching. An additional bark covering was mentioned, but not described, by N.W.; nothing was put over the tarweed, said M.N. Milkweed string was used for all the lashings. M.N. said the tarweed was "woven," not lashed, to the frame and horizontal withes [a dubious statement, -- A.H.G.J.]. Marking the top of the doorway was a horizontal stick lashed to the doorway pole; this served to support a small obliquely jutting roof, also thatched, over the main roof. The door was just high enough for the average Chukchansi to walk through; tall people stooped. A door covering of "grass" [doubtless the twined mat door of the more southerly Yokuts, -- A.H.G.] was leaned, not tied, against the door. It seldom blew away, and if it did, was recovered and set up again.

[284] Directly above the door roof or "porch" was an open space which served as a smoke vent. Then the final or apex section of the space between the door poles was covered with thatch resting on a short horizontal stick.

- 354 The fire was placed about two feet inside the door so the smoke went up through the opening above it. The fire itself was small; mostly coals, and was fed mainly by a long log which extended out through the door, its tip in the fire, its butt outside. It was pushed up as the tip burned away. About five feet back from the fire were laid pine logs, in a square or, really a three-sided rectangular form. These served to keep the pine-needle floor covering away from the fire, and also as sitting places. People sat on the logs, their feet toward the fire.
- 352 [513] People also slept with their feet toward the fire, lying back on the pine needles. An elderly person, usually "the grandfather," sat either side of the door to keep up the fire. Children slept in the rear center. Dogs were allowed in the house. Around the extreme back and sides were stored sacks of acorns, other foodstuffs, and possessions. [Nothing is said of hanging up objects as in other Yokuts houses. -- A.H.G.]

- 342 Outside the house was dug a ditch at least six to eight inches deep to drain off rain water. The illustrations are based on drawings and descriptions of the informant N.W.

The same type of house was used throughout the year, although the ramada was the popular gathering-place in summer. Ramadas were used at summer campsites.

- 361 People placed their houses where they pleased; there was no village arrangement (M.N.). When a house stood alone, it faced whatever way the owner wished. But sometimes two houses were needed to accommodate a large family and

361 these were built with the doors facing each other.

342 The whole family was concerned with construction of a new house. The men secured the poles, dug the holes for them with digging sticks and set them up, while the women got the tarweed, string, and bark [sic], and did the thatching.

343 The ramada or shade as an adjunct to individual village houses was not described by any informants, though it was mentioned in passing. Presumably it was used by the Chukchansi as by other Yokuts tribes.

344 On the meadow near J.R.'s present (1938) home there was at one time a large communal shade of the type constructed to enclose a dance space and shelter the audience. This J.R. said was "just like a corral," which would imply that it had a back wall as well as a roof. One of the Ghost Dances was held at that place. People played games there, made cider, and cooked. This enclosure would accommodate four to five hundred persons, said J.R. When so many people were assembled and eating, "the women would be doing something, preparing food all the time."³⁰²

343 Storehouses and granaries.---A special storehouse, structurally like a dwelling house, was built near the family home. One such storehouse might serve two or three adjacent houses occupied by related families. These storehouses had a conical frame, up to 6 feet in diameter at the base, and 7 or 8 feet high at the peak. [The walls were not described, but presumably they were of a thatch with bark overlaid: a dry interior was essential.] A bark door covered the entrance "to keep the wind and rain out, so things will keep dry all winter." The floor was covered with a thick layer of desiccated grass, weeds, or boughs, and on this the stuffed storage sacks were laid. "The heavy sacks were laid down, and the light things hung up." Salmon was hung on cross-poles, but jerked deer meat was stored in [skin] sacks. The meat and fish were taken out and examined from time to time for worms, bugs, or decay; contaminated portions were discarded.

251 It was not considered good practice to pile up too much stored food as it was awkward to handle and encouraged decay. Only enough food for one meal was removed at a time from the storehouse.

251 The supply of food in such a storehouse was expected to serve at least one family throughout the winter. A large family with many children would be tided over lean periods by their neighbors, should their food become exhausted. Even in winter men went out to hunt every day, and women found late seeds, or some

³⁰²Neither the number nor the activity is exaggerated if we are to judge by accounts of other Yokuts assemblages (Gayton, Batudillo, 74); Fowere (p. 385) estimated "about 300" at the Chukchansi ceremony he witnessed.

SHELTER, DRESS, BODILY ORNAMENT

Structures

W
Y
342
Houses.---The houses of the Michahai and Waksachi were thatched; mats of tule or other materials were rarely used and these only at the houses at the seed-gathering sites at the edge of the plains. The frames were either conical or oval. Bark houses were known and were preferred as more substantial, but these could not often be made because of the difficulty in getting cedar bark.

The conical thatched house (če's 'naho ya'ow:l, house [of] "weeds") was the usual type for Michahai and Waksachi. A circular space 9 to 12 feet in diameter was excavated to the depth of about 1 foot; this depression was called hi'č (sleeping-place). Several long straight poles, willow preferred, were set with their butts inside the edge of the depression and brought together at the top by means of a ring of willow (wi čet soto 'li, stick round) some 18 to 20 inches in diameter. This hoop was inserted at the top to hold and separate the poles (fig. 5, a, Pt. I).

W
Y
[462]
Around the uprights were three or four horizontal willow withes tied on with ho'o (willowbark rope). The lower ones were stood upon in order to reach the higher. "Men did most of this work but women might help." The women's job was the making of the thatch -- a "skirt" of long grasses (yaow:l) and fine willow bunched in small handfuls and twined along their butt ends. Another horizontal withe was laid over the bound edge of the thatch to the frame when the outer withe, the thatch, and the horizontal band of the house frame were all lashed together with rope (fig. 5, a, Pt. I).

The doorway (tiše hi) was about five feet high, "a man had to stoop a little to go in." Usually the top of the doorway was the second horizontal frame withe: the first band ended each side of the doorway. The door itself, said to be wholly aboriginal and called ča'kil:š ača'li (not translated), was a mat -- or, more properly, a screen -- of twined fine willows, which was tied on to one of the side poles of the doorway.

W
Y
[354]
A hollow dug in the center of the floor was the fireplace (u'stun ho'o'hi, fire spot or place). If long fire logs were burning, as they most frequently were, their ends extended far out the doorway. The smoke found its way out the ringed apex, the "smokehole" (mutsa'kan tana'hi, smoke goes).

The interior of the house wall was not finished in any way. When leaks occurred, new pieces of thatch were tied on outside, or tied from within if the leak could not be located from the outside.

People slept and sat close to the fire. Baskets and utensils were set around the very low outer edge. Poles were laid across the

W
Y
342 frame bands and hanging baskets, jerked meat, skins, and other things hung from them. There was no special place of honor for a guest to sit or sleep, though the preferred place was thought by B.O. to be just inside the door on either side. The senior or authoritative woman of the household who was responsible for the preparation of meals usually sat and worked just to the left of the entrance as one entered.

W
Y
[36] There was no village plan, or defined location for chiefs' or doctors' homes.

While the Waksachi used the conical house, the oval type, characteristic of the Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts, was the more common, according to B.O. The floor space, which was some 15 feet wide by 20 feet long, was not dug down, but wore down eventually from constant tramping.

Two forked poles supported a center beam or ridgepole 10 to 15 feet long. These parts might be of alder or oak. The frame was of willow "or any kind of good wood." The side poles were laid against the center beam, and those at the ends were laid into the forked post. These side poles, while held in position by horizontal withes, were not bent to form a curved roof line, as in Yokuts houses, but, lying straight, produced an obtuse-angled gable.

The walls were covered with a thatch of grasses, seldom a thatch of tule (fig. 1, b, Pt. I). The whole process was the same as for the conical house. Both men and women tied this thatch on, although men made the frame and women the thatch "skirt."

The doorway, which was invariably in the long side of the house, was covered by a mat of twined tules stiffened on each side with willow sticks lashed along its edges. The door was not fastened to the house, "just leaned against it."

W
Y
[362] There was never more than one room to such a dwelling; nor were there partitions. "A man built his house the size he needed and he never added a room" (B.O.). The fireplace was in the center, the smoke escaping through a slot left at the ridgepole between the last rows of thatch. Beds were made of pine boughs, obtainable near Eshom Valley, or of tule mats. Rabbitskin blankets were the preferred covering, though these often had to be obtained by trade with the valley people. No type of pillow or head rest was used. [The idea of a wooden head or neck rest B.O. thought very funny indeed.] There was no place of honor.

No plan was followed when setting up houses in a village: "anybody built where he liked."

The bark-covered house (to'oto'pti, Michahai) was made on a conical framework which had as its basis a single forked center post. Occasionally two forked posts with a short center beam were used. Against either the single fork or the center beam were laid stiff poles, rather close together and lashed to their sup-

W
Y
342 port with ropes. Against these were laid slabs of cedar bark which were tied to the frame at convenient or necessary intervals. Earth was thrown up around the base to hold the slabs in place and to prevent water from running in. Although the bark was hard to get, as cedar grows only up in the higher mountains, it was not bought from the tribes of the Western Mono, living at higher altitudes, or from the Eastern Mono traders.

W
Y
343 Shades (ci 'nu'.8) were used only during the summer, when one was put up in front of nearly every home. The construction was a simple affair of four forked corner posts, four tie beams connecting these with transverse beams on which leafy willow boughs were laid. All cooking, eating, and lounging were done there. When visitors were expected for a ceremony, long rows of shades were erected for their shelter. On these, back walls were sometimes added against wind or rain. They also served as shades for spectators at the ceremony.

W
Y
343 [574] Storehouses.---The Michahai, like the Yokuts of the valley, may have used a small house for storage. (The Waksachi did not.) Here extra baskets, foodstuffs, hunting and fishing equipment, etc., were kept.

W
Y
343 251 Storage bins.---Two types were described by S.O. and B.O.; both were called suna'uts in Michahai. For the first, and apparently the most common, about six stakes, approximately about 10 feet long, were driven in the ground in a circle about 3 feet in diameter. Small willows were cut an even length and twined, top and bottom, into a long mat or strip. One end of this was fastened to one of the stakes, and the whole wound around all the stakes. A packing of leaves was filled in on the ground, and acorns thrown in on it. As the space filled, another turn of the mat was taken around the stake frame. It was about 8 feet high when finished. To fill the upper levels, and also to get out acorns, a woman stood on a forked stick "ladder" propped firmly against the side of the bin. To top off the bin, a conical cover of twined grass was fitted on and tied down. As the contents of the bin lowered, the upper turns of the mat were removed.

When S.O. was talking of this type of bin, he claimed that the wall was formed of a single mat, some 3 to 4 feet deep, wound once around the frame. Sometimes this mat was held upright in a cylindrical form by having horizontal withes tied around it. These bins could then be picked up and carried to some preferred location, usually to the top of a flat rock, for dryness was essential in keeping the acorns: "a woman might have from three to several of these on one rock." The bottom was filled with grass, the acorns filled in, another layer of grass put in, and the whole topped off with a conical cap of grass thatch.

A storage bin close to home was made on a raised framework. A forked post some 6 feet

HOUSES.

The Yokuts built at least five kinds of dwellings.

1. Most distinctive was the mat-covered, gabled, communal *kanoi* of the Tulamni, Hometwoli, Wowol, Chunut, and perhaps Tachi. The roof pitch was steep. Probably each family constructed its own portion, with door to front and back, closed at night with tule mats. Each household had its own space and fireplace, but there were no partitions, and one could look through from end to end.

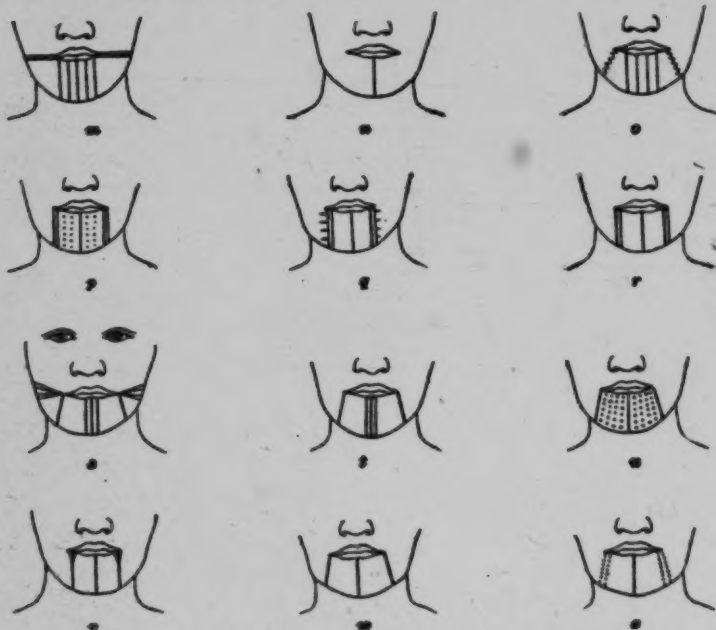


FIG. 46.—Women's and men's tattoo. Women: w-o, Chukchansi Yokuts; s-s, Mohave. Men: v-s, Mohave.

These houses sometimes ran to a size where they accommodated a little more than 10 families. A shade porch extended along the front. The tule stalks were sewn together with an eyed bone needle and string of tule fiber.

2. The Yauelmani and their neighbors of the southern plains off the lake approached this long structure in aligning their wedge-shaped tule houses or *dumilus*, but kept each contiguous family domicile separate.

3. The middle plains tribes, such as the Wechihit and Tachi, to-day build small tule houses of another type, elliptical or oblong

342 with rounded but vertical ends. There may be a ridgepole on two posts, with perhaps five poles planted along each side and bent over to the ridgepole. In this case the door is on one side of the front post. Or the ridgepole may be dispensed with and the poles bent all the way over or lashed together. The total length is only a dozen feet or so. The covering is of loose tule mats, each stalk wrapped to the next by a hitch in a single strand of string. Floor mats and bedding are sewn through. The Wechihit use a covering of tall *mohya* stems, reaching from the ground to the ridge, and held in place outside by several horizontal poles lashed to the framework. This type of house was called *te* or *chi*.

[361] 4. The Yaudanchi, though a hill tribe, built their principal winter houses or *te* of tule, of which a species called *shuyo* grows along streams to the very limit of the plains. This was a conical dwelling, and its most distinctive feature was a hoop at top to attach and at the same time separate the leaning poles of the framework, and leave a smoke hole. The tule mat covering was sewn as by the lake tribes. The houses were placed in rows.

A larger, ridged house, with two fireplaces and a door at each end, was also built by the Yaudanchi. In this a valley influence can scarcely be questioned.

When camping well up in the hills in summer, or traveling, the Yokuts built small structures, apparently conical, covered with brush or bark.

Among the northern hill tribes, such as the Chukchansi and Gashown, the house is also conical with a ring at the top, but usually thatched. The floor is lowered perhaps a foot with the digging stick. The door faces south, the diameter is 12 to 15 feet, the height not quite as much. Allowing for the lack of tule, this is the same house as that of the Yaudanchi, but it is called *ho*, literally "live," "sit."

5. A bark house of similar type is called *samish*. Sometimes bark is first leaned against the framework as a partial covering, then brush thatch added, and the whole held fast by bands of pliable poles or withes tied around.

It is interesting that there is no reference anywhere to tule thatching. The thickness of this rush may make its sewing or binding into mats more practicable than bundling it into thatch. The Serano and other southern Californians also built tule mat houses, but the Pomo employed tule thatch.

[132]
[343] The *ch'ineu* or shade, a flat roof on posts, was used by all the Yokuts. It must have been almost indispensable in the intensely hot summers of the plains.

344 The sweat house, *mosh* or *mos*, is a true sudatory, oblong, dug down several feet, with a ridge log resting on two posts at the ends,

"We made a fort, principally on account of our animals. The Indians brought otter skins, and several kinds of fish, and bread made of acorns, to trade. 101 175 619

"Among them were several who had come to live among these Indians when the missions were broken up, and who spoke Spanish fluently. They informed us that they were called by the Spainards 'mansitos', (tame) in distinction from the wilder tribes of the mountains. [439] [177]

"They, however, think themselves very insecure, not knowing at what unforeseen moment the sins of the latter may be visited upon them. They are dark skinned, but handsome and intelligent Indians, and live principally on acorns and the roots of the tule, of which also their huts are made." 142 262 342

The last is one of the few complimentary things written by Frémont about Indians. A similar account of the Kaweah River Indians is given in the report of the survey of July, 1850, by Lieutenant George H. Derby. An extract from the Derby report follows:

"Upon the 14th we arrived at the river Frances, [Kaweah] a large stream nineteen miles to the north of the Tule. This stream flows nearly west from the hills and empties into the Tache Lake about twenty miles north of its southeastern extremity. 101 175 619 133

"It is, at the point upon which we arrived, divided into five branches or sloughs, four of which separate from the main river, about five miles above, joining again from one to ten miles below, while the southern branch has a separate and distinct course from the Sierra which joins the main stream in the marshy ground near its junction with the lake.

"The country, eight miles in length by six in width, contained between these branches, is a beautiful, smooth, level plain, covered with clover of different kinds, and high grass, and thickly shaded by one continuous grove of oaks of a larger and finer description than any I have seen in the country.

"At this time each of the creeks were at its height, they are deep and four of them much wider than the Tule River. Their beds were also obstructed with floating and sunken timber previously felled for bridges, which the high stage of the water rendered useless; and we would have found it difficult to cross had it not been for the kind assistance of the neighboring Indians who flocked to meet us, and eagerly went to work carrying instruments and other property upon their heads and 101 175 619 648 482 [441]

101

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619

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[482]

swimming the animals and the little cart across without the slightest accident occurring.

"These poor people accompanied us from creek to creek, assisting us cheerfully at each crossing, and in return for their kindness I gave them a portion of our provisions and some dirty shirts, stockings and worn-out boots, which they prized as articles of exceeding luxury, and accepted them with vast satisfaction."

[609]

The people described are the Kaweah, who only a few months before had massacred the Woods party and had nailed a portion of Woods' skin to a tree. The reception given the Derby party is in direct contrast to that given the Woods party and lends support to the contention by pioneers that the Kaweah had been abused by that party.

Another interesting account of a similar occurrence, which took place among the Yokuts more than 70 years before the Woods party came to the San Joaquin Valley, is that made in his diary by Padre Francisco Garces when he visited present White River May 3, 1776:

[609]

"Those Indians related to me that in their land had they taken the life of two soldiers (who I persuaded myself were deserters), because they were very wicked with the women; adding that they had cut off the hands, had laid open the breast and all the body, had torn them asunder, and scattered the remains. I told them that also did the Espanoles put to death those who were evil-doers, and that presently would they punish two who had done wrong things with Indian women."

THE LAKE PEOPLE

101

184

[342]

The second culture is related in many ways to the one just presented, and will be known as the Lake Culture. Except at one or two village sites, which were well elevated above the highest lake level, they probably had no permanent dwellings.

Their houses were of a temporary nature and their entire life resembled that of wandering, migratory peoples. The tule mat was used for almost everything in the way of houses and camp equipment. These mats were made by laying the tules parallel to each other with a series of half hitches, or by perforating them with an awl and threading them on strings. In this way long rolls of thin coverings were made which greatly resembled what is known as grass, or reed matting. Some of these mats were used to sleep on. They were used as covering materials to form a shade upon the sun-drenched shores of

the valley lakes. They were also used as a covering for the lake houses. 285

The lake houses are probably the most interesting part of the lake culture. They resembled greatly a long, wedge shaped tent. Poles having a crotch at the top were set in the ground in a more or less straight line at intervals of about eight or ten feet. In these crotches were laid other straight poles which formed a ridge against which other light poles were leaned. Against this supporting frame-work were laid the tule mats, the fiber of the tules standing upright. 342

We know from many accounts, some of them given by persons yet living, that these lake houses often reached a length of three or four hundred feet and housed a dozen or more families. The openings at the ends afforded entrance to the end apartments, the intermediate apartments having entrances at the side somewhat similar to the flap of a tent.

Transportation upon the water was by means of bundles of tules tied together in the form of rafts. From these, hunting and fishing took place. Upon a mud hearth in the forward end of these rafts, a fire was kindled and game was cooked. In this way, we are assured, parties of three or four Indians would be upon the lake for a week or ten days at a time. 501
[354]

To understand the reason for this difference between the method of living and the construction of houses of the lake tribes and the river tribes, we must consider for a moment the nature of the lakes upon which they lived. The land surrounding these lakes, particularly Tulare Lake, was almost level. The rise or fall of one foot in the level of the water in a lake would move the shore line forward or backward a distance often as great as four miles. When the shore line moved, the Indian village moved. 133

Other and more frequent disturbances were the violent winds which from time to time swept across the lakes. Three days of heavy northwest wind could drive the waters toward the south and move both shore lines south a distance of several miles. Those Indians living on the south shore of the lake would be awakened in the night by the wind or, if they were not alert, by the water, which would flood their encampment. All members of the tribe would rush about, bundling up the temporary houses and piling them upon tule rafts. Gathering up baskets of acorns and dried fish and all manner of camp equipment, they would float to higher ground. Within a few days [132]

133 the lake shore might move back to its original position and the whole tribe would again move with it.

It is of interest to compare some of the characteristics of the river and lake types of culture and see from that comparison how the nature of the territory itself affected not only the habits but the dress and food of those people.

184 The lake Indians lived principally upon clams, fish, water
[362] fowl, seeds, and tule roots and were rather despised by the river
[285] tribes. The most of their baskets and other equipment, including baby cradles, were made of tule fiber. They also used
[287] rabbit skins to a much greater extent than did the river tribes. They wandered about considerably, having few permanent village sites, following the lake shore in their migrations. They blended closely into their surroundings. "Uncle Bud" Akers, who went to Tulare Lake in 1854 and who knew those Indians as long as they lived in that locality, furnished the following description of them and their surroundings:

136 "Most of the game in the San Joaquin Valley was about
137 the same color as the brush and grass that grew there. In the summer the dry grass turned the plains a light brown or tan color. The salt weeds and brush which grew about the lakes had a light, silvery grey color. The dry tules surrounding the lakes and streams were a light brown, or tan, and hid the green tules which grew in the water. A band of elk or antelope were almost invisible against this tan background, and they knew it. If they were near grass or tule cover they would sometimes keep perfectly quiet. Sometimes we would ride past them without seeing them. A jack rabbit would crouch under a tumble weed until you were within three feet of it before it would bolt and run, or before you saw it.

361 "The Indian camps were also hard to see until you were
[343] close to them. The Indians piled salt weed and brush or tules
[342] on an elevated framework to make a shade. They also made a sort of tent-house of tules. Several times I have almost passed within fifty yards of these structures without seeing them.

291 "In their native dress the lake Indians were themselves
281 about as well protected from sight as was the game. In the fall and winter they wore rabbit skin capes and hooda. The women wore skirts made of tules or rabbit skin. Sometimes they made these articles of the skins of ducks or geese with the feathers on. The men wore deerskin breech clouts that were about the same color as rabbit skin.

CHAPTER V

HOUSES AND HOUSEKEEPING

YOKUTS PERMANENT HOUSES

It has been said that to know a man's house is to know him. While that statement is probably rather broad if applied to the Yokuts Indians, it is certain that to know the construction and arrangement of a Yokuts house and the village in which it was situated would afford at least a superficial knowledge of many phases of their life. 342

Early travelers through the San Joaquin Valley are quoted as saying that when they approached an Indian village the inhabitants came running like rabbits from burrows in the ground. Had we no other description of their houses and life than this we would fall far short of judging accurately the manner in which the Yokuts lived. However, it is true that some of the houses were partly underground and that these were covered with an earth, or sod roof. Over this roof grew wild grasses, covering the houses to such an extent that the inhabitants probably appeared to be coming from burrows.

From information furnished by aged Indians and white men who were familiar with the construction of permanent houses built by the Yokuts Indians, we are able to furnish a description of how they were built and used. A roughly circular hole or pit was excavated, the earth being loosened by means of pointed sticks. The earth was then placed in baskets and thrown on the ground around the hole. This formed quite a high levee, or bank, which rose probably six or seven feet above the bottom of the excavation. The holes varied in size from ten or twelve feet in diameter to a much larger diameter, and in depth to about two feet.

Around the inside of the excavation, against its walls, were placed willow or other green poles, with the smaller ends upward. They were embedded in the floor of the pit to a depth of a foot or more. These poles varied in size from less than an inch in diameter to as much as three inches, and in length from ten to probably as much as thirty feet.

At the south side of the enclosure an opening was left between the poles. At this point in the construction, a row of

342 slender branches, fourteen to sixteen inches apart, extended from eighteen to twenty feet above the level of the surrounding ground. Next a green oak pole or shoot was bent upon itself and lashed together, forming a hoop probably thirty inches in diameter. The tips of the standing poles were pulled together at the top and lashed to this hoop.

Then other poles were bent around this frame-work parallel with the ground and lashed to the upright poles by means of bark or milk weed fiber cord. These horizontal pieces were spaced from twelve to eighteen inches apart. By this time the house resembled very much a rustic or wicker-work affair, roughly semi-spherical in shape. It had a circular opening at the top and a rectangular door, facing the south and probably two feet wide by five feet high.

[361] As these houses were almost invariably built along the shores of streams or lakes, an abundance of tule was available, and a tule thatch was laid on top of this frame work. The larger ends of the tules were placed against the ground on the outside of the frame work and lay with their tips extending into the opening at the top. When first applied, the thatch was probably from six to twelve inches in thickness.

Then the loose soil, which had been removed from the excavation, was thrown on top of the tule thatch. It formed a sod covering, varying in thickness from three or four inches at the circular opening at the top to probably several feet at the level with the surrounding ground. We are informed that in some instances the tules were first covered with a layer of mud approximately three or four inches in thickness. The writer is inclined to believe that this was the practice at many places. The evidence indicating such practice exists in old house pits in the form of fired clay which shows upon one side very plainly the marks of the tules and small branches.

The heavy earth covering compacted the tules until they were probably about an inch in thickness and by these tules was kept from falling through into the house below.

As most of the houses were destroyed by fire, the mud covering hardened and fell into the pit below. The floors of several old house remains have been found to be covered with such debris.

At the doorway, an inclined floor led from the level of the floor of the house to the level of the surrounding ground, the house being entered much as one would enter a shallow cellar



342

A permanent, earth-covered Yokuts house under construction. It was built in 1929 on the Kaweah River by Wukchumne Indians. The willow poles were later bent together at the tops and lashed to the oak ring which lies on the floor. Then the framework was covered with a layer of tules and last with a layer of mud and dirt.

or dugout. The door being considerably lower than the head of the average man, it was probably necessary to bend quite low in entering it. During bad weather this opening was closed by the skin of some animal, or by a tule mat.

Until about 1935 there were numerous remains of these houses existing in western Tulare county. South of Waukena they still exist on ranch property owned by Adolph Sweet, and south of Paige they were on the W. H. Wilbur ranch, but have been destroyed by farming. Several of these were excavated by the writer. The findings verified the statements made by aged Indian and white pioneers.

YOKUTS TEMPORARY HOMES

In considering the various types of houses used throughout the breadth and length of the San Joaquin Valley, we find that the Yokuts built at least five different types of dwellings. The most pretentious of all these houses is the permanent house, which has already been described and which was often used

342 for probably ten or fifteen years before it had to be rebuilt. The rest of the houses were of a more temporary nature.

Surely the most striking of all Yokuts houses was the long, mat-covered, communal house called *Kawi*. This house was used by *Wowol*, *Chunut* and *Tachi* and probably by the *Tulamni*, *Tuhohi*, and *Hometwoli*. It sometimes reached a length of three hundred feet and looked from the exterior like a long, wedge-shaped tent.

342 In the communal house lived many families. We are told
592 that in some instances the people of an entire village occupied one house. The house was built with a long ridge-pole supported by crotched posts and with a steep-pitched roof. On the sloping side poles, were left stubs of some of the small limbs. [352] These served as hooks to support horizontal poles over which were thrown the tule mats. Such stubs were also left on the underside of the sloping poles, or rafters, and also on the center posts. Strings of dried acorns and of fish and meat and all manner of camp equipment were hung from these Indian clothes hangers. It is thought that each family constructed its own part of this house, with doors at both ends as well as along the sides. These doors could be closed at night with tule mats. Although there were no partitions in the house and one could look through from one end to the other, each family had its own space, its own door and its own fire place, and it was considered a breach of etiquette to walk lengthwise of the house through the portion occupied by another family.

342 Along the front of the house a shade was constructed. This shade is still used by many of the Yokuts Indians and is called *Ch'iniu*. On the treeless plains and shores of Tulare Lake it was indispensable. Crotched poles were set in the ground at regular intervals. Other poles were laid across them and tule mats were unrolled on top of the cross poles. Near streams a covering of willow brush was used, instead of tule mats. It was this tule mat and light framework house that the *Tachi*, *Nutunutu*, *Wowol*, and *Chunut* dismantled, rolled up quickly and placed on their large tule rafts when river-swollen, or wind-swept Tulare Lake flooded their camp sites.

It is unfortunate that more details have not been preserved concerning the long, wedge-shaped house. Life under conditions which existed in such a dwelling must have been complicated, to say the least. Each family was in close contact with

[362] the neighboring families and there was practically no privacy for anyone in the tribe.

for anyone in the tribe. This type of structure brings home to one more forcibly than any phase of their culture the fact that the primitive Yokuts were all city dwellers. Country yokels were probably unknown among them. 342 ●

The *Yowlumne* of lower Kern River, as well as the other tribes to the east of the tule lakes, built structures somewhat like that described above, but much shorter, and kept each family separated by partitions. [184]

One of the most interesting descriptions I have ever received of this *Yowlumne* house was given in 1943 by the late Thomas A. Baker, son of the founder of the City of Bakersfield. Here it is:

"When we first came here [Bakersfield in 1863] the Indians were living mostly in brush shelters, four posts with poles across them and brush piled on top. There were one or two tule houses. They were not round and not square, but were sort of oval shaped; about ten feet wide and fifteen feet long with a small door in the middle of one side. They had round ends. They had two posts inside, and a short ridge-pole. I never paid much attention to them, but I believe they had poles leaned against this ridge pole. The tules were stood on end around this pole framework. I don't think the tules were made into mats. I think they were stood around the framework loose. Maybe they were tied down to the pole framework.

"The ridge of the house was not closed tight. There was an opening in the ridge in the form of a slot about eight inches wide and about six feet long.

"I was in these tule houses a number of times, but I remember very little about them. I do remember that there were strings of acorns and dried fish hanging from the pole framework. There were also baskets and bags of all kinds of Indian things on the ground inside. Everything was so smoked up inside that you couldn't tell what most of it was."

The *Yowlumne* of Kern River, the *Wechikit* of Kings River and probably the *Apaichi* north of Kings River built a small tule house of an oblong shape. The ends were rounded, but almost vertical. A short ridge pole was erected on two upright crotchted poles. Poles were leaned against this ridge. This left not the wedge-shaped house, but a rounded affair, probably much like the one described above by Thomas A. Baker.

There was only one door. In some instances there was no ridge pole. The poles were then bent all the way over and

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A typical Yokuts camp. In the foreground is the firepit and the woodpile for outside cooking. In front of the house is the universal tule-mat shade. The oblong tule covered house has a slot shaped smoke hole directly over the door. Beneath the smoke hole is the firepit for indoor cooking and heating. The ends of the house are round. Wokumcheh, eighty-five years of age and last surviving full-blood man from the Yowlamne tribe, appears at the left. He lived in such a house until he was sixteen years of age. He supervised the construction of this camp.

lashed together. These houses were probably not larger than ten by eighteen feet. As in the case of the other temporary houses this house was also covered with tules and was called *Che*.

On Tule River the *Yaudanchi* built their winter house of tules in a cone shape. The house had a hoop at the top to which the poles of the leaning framework were attached and which left an opening for the smoke arising from the fire pit directly below.

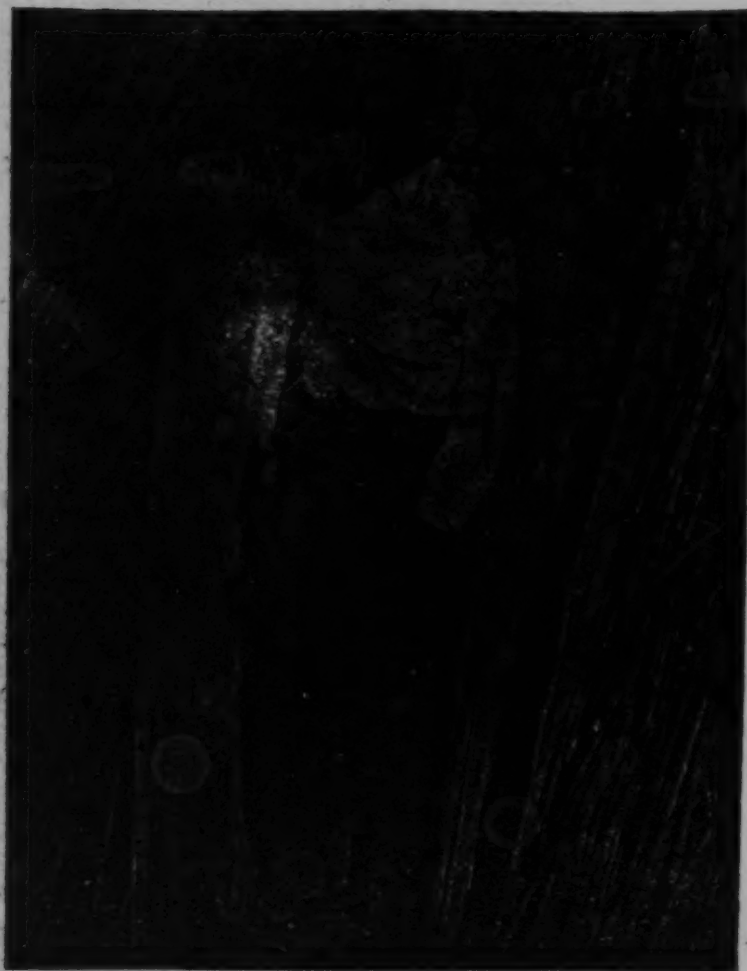
[285] The framework was covered by sewn tule mats. The houses were placed in rows with brush covered shades in front. These *Yaudanchi* houses more nearly approached the tepees of the plains Indians than any other Yokuts houses. The *Yaudanchi* also built a larger house, which had a ridge, two fire places, and a door at each end; but we have no details of the construction.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948) 1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Yowlunne

HANDBOOK OF YOKUTS INDIANS

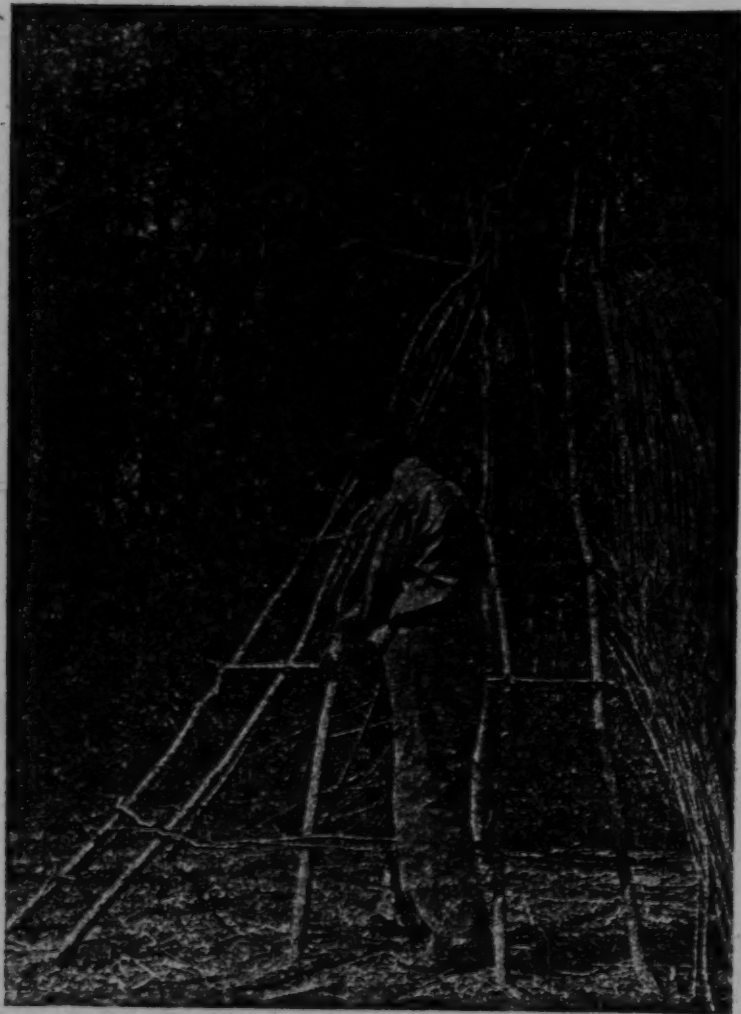
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Wehamech, aged 85 and last surviving man from the Yowlunne Yokuts who once lived about present Bakersfield, showing the use of the tule-mat door in a tule-thatched house.

● 342



View of a Yowlumne Yokuts house under construction, showing Wahuwchah tying the horizontal poles in place with willow bark. The ends of this house are round; the sides straight. There are two posts with one ridge pole. It is thatched with loose tules, tied in place with milkweed fiber string. A portion of the tule mat cover shows in the upper right corner.



342

A *Chuknimina* house which stood in Squaw Valley, Fresno County, about 1900. Except for the boards and metal stove pipe, it is like those built by that tribe before the white people came to Squaw Valley.—Photo by courtesy of Mr. A. D. Overholtzer, Squaw Valley Corners.

The *Chuk'-chansi* and *Gashowu* on Fresno and San Joaquin Rivers built a cone house similar to that of the *Yaudanchi*, but covered it with thatch. The floor of this house was generally lowered about a foot with a digging stick. The door faced the south. The house was about twelve or fifteen feet in diameter. It was called *Ho*, meaning to live, or sit. They also built a house covered with bark and brush thatch, which they called *Siamsh*.

When camping or traveling, the Yokuts built smaller and less permanent structures. These were formed by leaning poles together and covering them with bark or brush. They were the temporary shelters so often described by early settlers in the San Joaquin and were practically the only houses built after the Indians had been dispossessed of their permanent village sites.

THE SWEAT HOUSE

The sweat house was oblong and generally excavated to a depth of two or more feet. It had a heavy ridge which rested on poles at the ends. Over this ridge were laid poles which were

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Web-puk'-in and We'-we-ma showing the interior of a Yokuts tule-thatched house and a bed. A shallow pit is filled with loose tules and covered with a tule mat. Covers consist of a doubled rabbit-skin blanket. Hanging from the house frame is a twined and a tule chewmish, or all-purpose hanging baskets. The large basket at the left shows kota, or obsidian arrow point. The one at the front right shows quail, arrow point and anta.

and meats and fish were suspended from the framework of the house overhead. In addition to these things was the usual collection of wild animal skins, prepared basketry materials, fiber for making string, and any amount of other raw materials from which were to be prepared the various articles necessary to the life of the Indians.

"At every permanent village occupied by two or three hundred Indians, there were probably from four or five to as many as a dozen of these larger semi-permanent houses. They were used for ten or twelve years, or until there was a death in the family, at which time the Indians burned the house in which the death occurred."

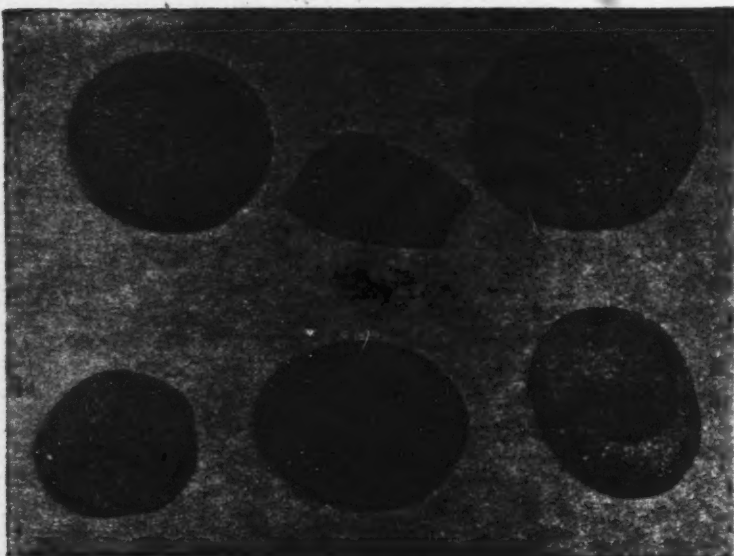
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Often a sick or aged person was carried outside to die, so that it would not be necessary to burn the house. In 1937, Ichow, last Chief of the *Wukchumae*, died of dropsy after several days of exposure under a broiling July sun, because he

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It was probably because the Yokuts had access to several deposits of steatite that they did not develop the art of pottery making. The above steatite cooking vessels were placed directly in the fire. Top center and lower left are frying pans. Top left and right are large closed pots, holding about three gallons and used for boiling and stewing. The two lower right are shallow, open cooking vessels. Aged Yokuts have stated that meat, greens, acorns, mushrooms and other fungi were cooked in such vessels.

had been taken sick in a white man's house and the family knew they could not burn it.

361 In many places where cultivation has not destroyed them, the remains of these houses are even yet to be found along the banks of streams and lakes throughout the entire San Joaquin Valley. At one village site near what was once the northwestern shore of Tulare Lake and described in a former chapter, the writer just a few days before this manuscript went to press counted the ruins of more than twenty of these houses.

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342 During the acorn and other seed seasons, with the exception of a few old persons, the Indians were likely to leave the permanent village and live for a month or more at temporary camp sites near the ripening seeds. Consequently, during the major portion of the time, when the most of the Indian population was

abroad gathering foodstuffs, the Indians lived in crude shelters, or huts, more than they did in permanent houses. 221 342

When the salmon were running in the San Joaquin River the Yokuts migrated to that place. During the season when millions of wild ducks and geese entered the valley, the Yokuts were to be found about the sloughs and swamps snaring them and shooting them with their bows and arrows, gorging themselves upon the fresh meat, and drying much of it to be carried many miles across the plains to the permanent villages. 221 [257]

The arrangement of the village was not as haphazard as we might be led to suppose. There were some rules governing the arrangement of the camp. These rules might be likened to some of our town and city ordinances. The Headman, or Chief, of the tribe was likely to occupy the most desirable location. The sweat house, which has already been described in detail, was located down stream from the rest of the village. This was due to the fact that care was taken not to pollute the streams above the village. An Indian would be careful in wading across the stream above the village. Bathing and washing were generally done at or below the sweat house. 361 364

At least one writer, Steven Powers, and several pioneer whites, as well as aged Yokuts Indians, have stated that the plains and lake houses were built and arranged with almost military uniformity. When several houses stood near each other they were erected in a straight line which approximated a row of houses in a pioneer white town. 361 114

At every village several fires were kept going in the open, day and night. A hole several feet across and a foot or more in depth contained burning coals and cooking rocks. Into this fire pit was thrown all sorts of camp refuse. A pile of dry wood lay nearby. In at least some camps there were rules that the kitchen refuse and the offal from freshly killed game must be disposed of in this family fire-pit. Deer and large game was generally dressed in the field, the carcass being carried to the camp by the men who killed it. There it was taken in hand by the women. 361 364

In well organized tribes a stranger was not allowed to enter an Indian village unattended. At the lower and upper limits of the village were situated *Winatuns* (messengers) whose business it was to meet strangers and conduct them to the chief or head man and to run all sorts of errands for him. 609 624 576

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769 That night we stayed among the brush and rocks after we had gone a couple of miles from the camp. Then we went on farther until we found a good place to hide in a canyon this side of Kings River. We stayed there almost a week, until we almost starved. Some people killed a little game and one bear. We ate the bear meat. That was all we had, even the little children.

After we had been hid almost a week some white people came and told us that no one would hurt us. So we came back to our own camp and got ready to go home. We never finished the Eshom valley dance.

When we came back to the San Joaquin valley we were almost completely starved. I remember that the first thing I had to eat was ripe peaches. They were the best peaches I ever ate.

We had a good time at Eshom Valley, but we were sorry we did not see our dead people. Lots of our people had been dying and we wanted to see them.

Several months after the dance at Eshom Valley my people decided to have another dance. They had not finished the dance at Eshom valley. They thought that if they had another dance and finished it the dead people would really come back.

[103] The second dance was held at the old village of Sulawlahne at the "Fish" Rice ranch south of Farmersville. We danced for six days and nights there, but never saw any of our dead people. After that we knew the Indians from across the mountains had been fooling us. So we did not have any more of those Heut Hetwe dances to bring back the dead people.

YOIMUT'S STORY

CHUNUT CAMP LIFE

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342 In the old days, before white people came to Tulare Lake, my people had three kinds of houses. Two houses were made of tules. One house was made of poles and dirt. I never saw but two of the dirt houses. The Indians stopped making them before I was born. When I was about ten years old my mother took me to camp at a place about four or five miles south of the Buzzard's Roost. It is about three miles from Waukena. It was the place on the creek by the big ditch where Mr. Sweet had the slaughter house. When we went to the place there were a lot of Indian dirt houses there. Almost all of them had fallen down. We went there when you white people were having a big war [the Civil War].

I think most of the houses had been burned, because I remember the ends of a few of the poles had been burned. Two of the houses were still standing. Two were still good houses. We put our things in them and camped outside. I remember all about this kind of house. 159
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It was not a big house, like white people make. It was just one round room. It had a small door and a smoke-hole at the top. The door was at the south side. The house was not dug in the ground very deep. I think they must have carried the dirt to cover it from some other place. When we went into the house we did not go down, like into a cellar. The floor was just about level with the ground outside.

The house was made of poles set in the ground like posts. They were about as big around as my arm at the bottom. They were not so big at the top. The poles were bent together at the top. They had poles around them and brush and tules over them.

The outside was covered with dirt and mud. At the bottom the dirt was thick, but at the top by the smoke hole it was just plastered thin with mud. You could see the tules and brush around the smoke hole.

The dirt houses had fire places in the middle. They were about as big as a wash tub. They had rocks and ashes in them when we went there. Someone had been cooking in them before we came. [354]

The sweat house was still at this place when we went there. It was down in the creek by the water. It was like the other houses, but it did not have a smoke hole at the top. It was deeper, too. We called it *Maws*. 159
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The *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) made a kind of shade to use in summer. It was like four posts set in the ground with poles across the top. It was covered with tule mats. When we moved we took the mats and the poles with us and left the posts for when we came back.

Both my mother's people and my father's people made a house of green tules. It was a small round house. They made these houses in the tules near the water when they would only stay a little while. They called this kind of house *tumlus* (toom'-loos.) 159
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Tumlus was a good dry house from the rain, but it was bad from the bottom. They just cut some tules away inside, and pulled the other tules together at the top. They tied the tops to

159 a piece of green oak limb bent round like a ring. You could never see these houses in the tules until you came right to them.

342 The worst thing about the tumlus house was the lake. They always were close to the water and the ground was wet. [361] When the wind blew, the lake water would come into them.

Once I went with my mother to *Chaw-lo'-win*, on Atwell's Island where Alpaugh is now. I was about ten years old. While we were there we lived in a tumlus house. I did not like it. When we did not have a fire the mosquitoes came in so thick you could not see the smoke hole.

One night when we were all asleep, the north wind began to blow. Nobody waked up until the water began to come into the house. We got out as fast as we could, but the water was up to my knees before we left the house.

I was at Alpaugh a long time afterward and I think the houses were almost where the town is now. They were on the north edge of the sand ridge. The old-time regular village was [361] farther south on the south side of the sand ridge where White River came in.

When we were in the tumlus houses it was all tules right down to the water. We had just narrow trails through the high tules. The lake was high then after the sixty-two [1862] high water. It was before the sixty-eight [1868] high water. I remember this. I know both high waters.

[361] There were ten or twelve houses where we stayed. A few of my mother's people had gone back there to live. They thought they could stay there. But the white people already had hogs there and the Indians had to leave as soon as the water went down a little.

159 The regular house that the Chunut and *Wowol* (Wo'wol) had was called *Che*. It was a long tule house. It was made so 342 they could take it down quick. I lived in one of the long tule 542 houses two or three years on Kings river near the Ezra ranch. They were a good house. They were cool in summer. You could open them up in a minute and get the cool breeze. In the cold weather they had lots of fires inside to keep them warm.

Eight or ten families lived in the *Che*, tule house. It was like a long tent. They had no partitions. It was open inside all the way along. There were fires all along the middle. When they were all roasting ducks or fish in the winter, the house would be full of smoke. It was nice to live in a house like that. If you did not like some family you lived in the other part of

the house. You generally lived by your grandmother or by your good friends. 159 342

The tule house had a row of posts down the middle. They had forks at the tops. On top of the posts we put long poles. Then we leaned poles against the long poles at the sides. On top we put long tule mats. We made the mats nice and smooth. The tules ran up and down. We tied them together with tules. We could roll them up like a rug. They kept the water out good. 342

Inside the Che we kept everything—acorns, dried *sah'-pahl* (jack rabbit) and *i-ke' em* (elk) and *suey'-yohl* (antelope) and *lo-pits* (fish). We hung all of these on the poles. 159 251 262

We dried lots of *mah-mil* (blackberries) and *saw-ha'-mik* (mushrooms) too, and put them in baskets. We had lots of seeds in baskets. The house was full of things to eat. We always had plenty.

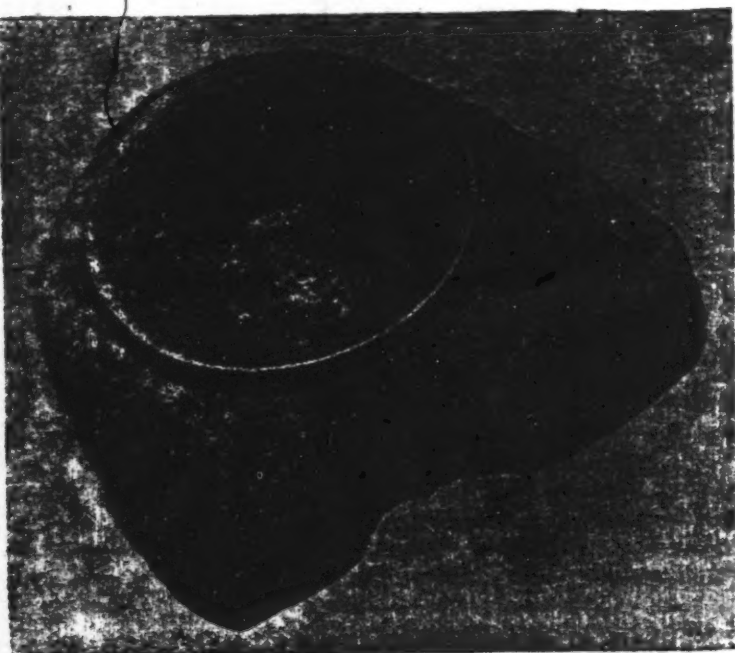
The Chunut and Wowol cooked the white-shelled lake clams in large bunches like you call a clam-bake. They called the clam *trah'-sheep* and the clam-bake *hah-pots'-ahk*. First they put on the ground a layer of tules four or five inches thick. Then they put the clams on top, with the open edges down as thick as they could, so they would not roll over. They piled tules on top of the clams. Then they set fire to them. When the tules burned, the water ran out of the clams and steamed them so they cooked nice. My people ate lots of them that way. They were good with salt from salt grass. Sometimes they baked lots of fires of them. 159 252 262

We gathered lots of salt from salt grass. Lots of Indians used to get their salt at a place about three miles north of Guernsey. I have gathered salt there lots of times. The salt comes on the leaves of the grass in little round pieces. We gathered the grass in the afternoon when it was damp and stacked it in big piles. After dinner we put the grass on an elk skin and hit it with sticks. The dry salt fell off and we threw the grass away. It made a good salt. We called it *ahlet* (*ah'-leet*). 159 222 263

We made another salt by burning a different salt weed. We called it *tiit* (*tih'-it*). It was not as good as *ahlet*.

The old-time Chunut Indians did not use much acorn mush. They used more tule roots. They did not have to take the bitter out of the tule roots. They ate some of the tender roots raw and pounded up the old roots. 159 252 262

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A Wukchumni Yokuts wooden mortar with basket hopper.

159 The valley acorns would not keep very well. We could not
251 store them in granaries like we did the mountain acorns. We
had to take off the hulls as soon as we gathered them. Then
we drilled holes in them and put them on strings. We hung
the strings of acorns in the house. We thought that it was the
smoke that kept the worms from eating them.

159 My people used some rock mortars to pound seeds in, but
412 they used lots of wooden mortars, too. My mother had a big
wooden mortar when I was a little girl.

When an oak tree would fall down the Chumut women
would take the bark off of the trunk and make mortars in the top
of it. They used coals to burn holes in it. I remember lots of
trees with three or four mortars in them. The women would
sit on the tree trunk and pound acorns and seeds.

159 In the long tule house each family had its own door. You
342 could not go through the next place unless you knew it was all
542

right. We just opened the tule mats for a door. We did not have a round smoke hole in the long house. The tule mats did not reach to the top. If we wanted more room for the smoke to go out, we put a stick between the tule mats at the top.

In the Indian houses we nearly always slept along the side with our feet to the fire. To sleep sideways to the fire we called *yot'-sahn*. We dug a hole in the ground and filled it with loose tules. Then we covered them with two or three tule mats. That made a nice mattress.

For bed covers we used lots of things. The best bed cover was rabbit skin blankets. They were soft and warm. Nearly everybody had one or two. They were about as big as the blankets you white people use. We made the rabbit skin blankets out of strips of skin. When we took the skin off of the rabbit we cut it around and around in a long strip. We twisted it so all of the fur was on the outside. We twisted the rabbit skin strips into a double string as long as we wanted the blanket. Then we sewed it back and forth from one end to the other until it was a big blanket. We made blankets the same way of mud hen skins.

We had elk and deer skins on our beds, too. Some people had bear skins, too, for bed covers. But not many had that. I knew an Indian doctor who had a mountain lion skin on his bed. He bought it from a *Wukchumne* Indian from Lemon Cove.

The old-time Indian men wore a deer skin breech-clout called *trah'-keet mu-num'-hoey*. It was held up by a narrow deer skin belt called *wuh'-suk* (string). A little piece of the breech clout hung down like an apron in front. Some of the men painted colored pictures on it. I only saw one or two of the old-time breech clouts. That was when I was a little girl. After that the Indians all wore old underwear or a piece of old cloth for a breech clout.

The Indian women wore a small skirt. It was made in two pieces. They had a small apron in front and a larger one behind. They were held up by a string like a belt. It tied at the side. We called the woman's skirt *ah'-til ra'-es*. It was generally made of the inside bark of cottonwood, or of tule. Some times they used strings of twisted rabbit, or mud hen skin. They liked the twisted rabbit skin skirts best.

The Chunut and Wowol women wore a cape, too. It was made of twisted rabbit skin, or mud-hen skin strings like a small blanket. They used the wing feather of a goose to pin the

CAPE IN PLACE.

159 This was a fine place to camp. I have been there since
166 and know it was close to the Artesia school house where the
361 steamboat used to land. The white people built a big canal
right by the camp and Mr. Sweet had a slaughter house there
the last time I was there.

There used to be a big village there, so my mother told me.
[342] When we went there we saw lots of old, tumble-down dirt
houses. I never saw any other dirt houses. Two of those
houses were good, so we put our things in them.

We had a fine time at this place and my mother and step-
father decided to make a home there and stay there all of the
time. There were lots of fish in the creek and the lake was
right close, I think not more than a half mile away. The village
had belonged to my father's people, so we thought we had a
right to stay there.

[251] My step-father and his brother caught lots of fish and we
dried the meat. We fixed up the two dirt houses so we could
live in them and we all felt as happy as could be. There were
no other Indians there but the ones I told about.

159 We were at the camp about three months, until summer
166 was almost over. Then some men came along gathering cattle.
648 It was Pat Murray from Porterville and some of his vaqueros.
He camped there for two or three days.

Pat Murray was mad at us. He told us we would have to
get out and stay out. There was a Tule River Indian with
Murray. He was a vaquero. He told us that Murray would
kill us if we did not get out. He said that Murray was afraid
we would kill his cattle.

We had not killed any of the cattle. There were lots of
them around the Buzzard's Roost, but we had not killed even a
calf. We would never kill them.

We felt very bad about this. Murray went away and we
stayed about one week more. We felt so bad we did not talk
to each other for two or three days. Then my step-father talk-
ed. He had been out fishing with his brother and when he came
in he said they had decided to go to the Tejon ranch where
some of his people lived.

I have always been sorry that we left Heumne, because
Mr. Blankenship told us afterward that we did not have to
leave. He said that Pat Murray had no right to run us off. He
did not own that place. Mr. Blankenship said that we should

159 My mother found almost all of her relations there at Chawlowin. Her brother had his family there and two or three of her uncles were there, too. They had all come back to that camp from Tule River Reservation, where the soldiers had taken them from Tejon Ranch. They wanted to stay at their old home. These people did not go back to the old village at the mouth of Deer Creek and White River because they were afraid the soldiers would come back and get them. They were hid in the tules in *tumulus* (toom'-loos) houses at the north side of the Island.

In a few days my stepfather's brother came to the camp. He had left his team and wagon on the land east of Chawlowin where he could look after them once in a while.

159 The *tumulus* house was a quick house to make. They cut it in the green tules. We lived in one of these houses about three months, until it was too cold to stay any longer. They were good houses when the north wind did not blow. Then we used to wake up with water in our beds. We would have to go to the higher ground until the water went back. The water in the lake got lower all of the time, so when we left Chawlowin it did not come in the *tumulus* houses any more.

159 We could not get anything to eat but meat and fish and tule roots at Chawlowin. We had lots of fish. Some of the men caught ducks in a string net on the end of a pole. That was hard to do. They did it when the north wind was blowing. Then the ducks flew very slow against the wind, close to the tops of the tules. The hunter sat on a wooden seat almost at the top of the tules. He had tules tied around him so that the ducks could not see him. Once my mother's brother caught a duck in his hands that way.

They caught ducks in the water with strings, too, but I do not know how they did it. I saw them take the ducks out of the strings, but I never saw them put the strings there. The men always did that.

159 Once in a while the men killed an elk at Chawlowin. There were more there than on the land outside the lake in those days. They shot the elk with bow and stone pointed *kots* [obsidian] arrows. The arrows had a short loose wood point.

When they shot the elk it ran and rubbed against the tules to pull the arrow out. The back part fell out, but the front end stayed in. The hunters followed the elk. After awhile the elk was so sick they could catch him and kill him. I heard of the

648 a nook of the mountains. Doubtless they would eventually have seized all the streams emptying into Tulare Lake, but they seem to have become
 [164] enervated by the malaria, and reduced to the same condition of sluggishness as the people whom they displaced.

131 At the time of the American advent, therefore, the Yokuts occupied the south bank of the Fresno; the San Joaquin, from Whisky Creek down to the mouth of the Fresno; King's River, from Mill Creek down to the mouth; the Kaweah, Tule River, and Deer Creek; the west shore of Tulare Lake, and the isolated mountain-nook at Fort Tejon.

101 Their tribal distribution was as follows: On the San Joaquin, from Whisky Creek down to Millerton, are the Chūk'-chan-ai; farther down, the
 131 Pit'-ka-chi, now extinct. On King's River, going down stream, are the following bands, in their order: Tis-e'-chu, Chai-nim'-ai-ni, It-i'-cha, Wi'-chikik, Ta'-chi, No-toan'-ai-ti, the latter on the lake, the Tachi at Kingston. On Dry Creek are the Kas-so'-vo; in Squaw Valley the Chu-kai'-mi-na. On the Kaweah River, beginning in the mountains, are the Wik'-sach-i, Wik-chum'-ni (in the foot-hills), Kau-i'-a (on the edge of the plains), Yu'-kol (on the plains), Te'-lum-ni (two miles below Visalia), Chu'-nut (at the lake). On Tule River are the O-ching'-i-ta (at Painted Rock), Ai'-a-pai (at Soda Spring), Mai-ai'-u (on South Fork), Sa-wakh'-tu (on the main river), Ki-a-wet'-ni (at Porterville). At Fort Tejon are the Tin'-lin-neh (from *tin'-nilh*, "a hole"), so called on account of some singular depressions in the earth in that vicinity. A little further north, near Kern Lake, are the Po-hal'-lin-Tin'leh (squirrel-holes), so named on account of the great number of ground-squirrels living in that place.

619 In the Yokuts nation there appears to be more political solidarity, more capacity in the petty tribes of being grouped into large and coherent masses, than is common in the State. This is particularly true of those
 592 living on the plains, who display in their encampments a military precision
 361 and regularity which are remarkable. Every village consists of a single
 ● [347] row of wigwams, conical or wedge-shaped, generally made of tule, and just enough hollowed out within so that the inmates may sleep with the head higher than the feet, all in perfect alignment, and with a continuous awning of brushwood stretching along in front. In one end-wigwam lives

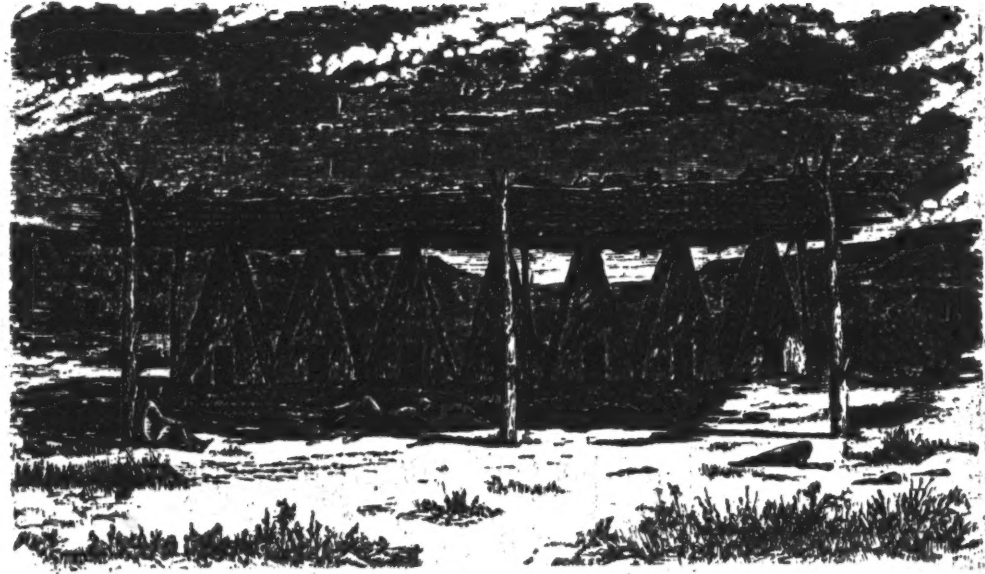


Figure 59.—Yo'-kuts Tule Lodges.

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[Facing p. 370]

animal, not a grazing animal and few suitable shrubs and trees grow in the region. There were some herds of antelope, especially in the eastern portions, and some tule elk. Even rabbits were less numerous than in adjoining regions. In the most favorable sections burrows were periodically flooded while elsewhere feed was scanty. 136

The Tachi Yokuts were located north and west of Tulare Lake. Of the eight locatable Tachi settlements, six were on the sloughs near Tulare Lake or on the shores of the lake itself; two were on the dry plains west of the lake.⁴ Each settlement consisted of one, and in most cases probably several, long wedged-shaped houses covered with tule mats and housing several families. Latta claims these sometimes reach the length of 300 feet but most writers consider this excessive.⁵ Kroeber cites Gabriel Moraga who visited the Tachi in 1806 and records the range of some 60 to 800 persons for southern Yokuts villages.⁶ Moraga's report is suspect but other data suggest that most Tachi villages contain several hundred people.⁷ 361 [342] [592] [161] [114]

The location of settlements was importantly influenced by the location and permanence of water. The lake shore itself offered difficulties, for the surrounding terrain is relatively flat and in some places a change of lake level of one foot would shift the lake margin as much as 4 miles.⁸ According to Gifford and Schenck when the lake surface was 192 feet above sea-level, only 300 square miles was covered, but at its highest level of 220 feet, the area was 800 square miles. The highest level was unstable and villages located with reference to this might at many times have no access to water. The 500 square miles between the lower and the highest level, was marshy and "an area in which man could not have resided permanently."⁹ Consequently, the most desirable sites were on permanent sloughs offering access to the lake but located on ground high enough to be out of flood water. Some of the Yokuts, possibly including the Tachi, when they could not find a sufficiently elevated house site would raise the floor by carrying in baskets of earth. In addition, the Tachi and 513 [342]

⁴ GAYTON, 1948 map. 2; KROEBER, p. 484, plate 47; LATTA, p. 13.

⁵ LATTA, p. 90.

⁶ KROEBER, p. 491.

⁷ GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.

⁸ LATTA, p. 30.

⁹ GIFFORD and SCHENCK, pp. 8-11.

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various parts, of which 2 were Telame, he of Choynoco, and 4 from other rancherías of the Roblar in the vicinity of the mountains. They begged me to come and see them all. I made suitable precautions without letting it be known, casually dispatched my horse, and accompanied by two interpreters directed myself first within the ranchería of these Chischesees. They pressed upon me various dishes of atoles and pinoles, which I tasted in order not to offend them, and they were satisfied. I counted 437 able-bodied young men in the walk I took, and about 600 women and children all placed before this village. Across the front of the ranchería I counted 358 double paces [*pasos dobles*] which makes 624 yards [*varas*], and across its back 432 paces or 756 yards in the form of an imperfect half moon. All [the houses] are of mats and willow branches. In front of the ranchería were the guests, all separated, where I directed myself along with the captains who accompanied me. Each of them were in little groups; thus men, women, and children were presented to me, and it was not possible to count them as I had done with the Chischas. However, the number of young men was not less than 600, and some 200 young women.

When I walked behind the Ranchería of Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo which was near by. On its banks, I found more than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for the atoles of the guests, while other younger ones were grinding these seeds on stones as is their custom [copy of Nov. 19: with large baskets of thick acorn mush].

[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: Of the Ranchería of Chischa nothing was known until now. Its people, and those of their neighboring friends who were found assembled, presented in number some 2400 persons, all of comely appearance. Their number should be greater, judging by the scarcity (*cortedad*) of people seen, not counting the young people who were no doubt hiding in the willows which encircle the neighborhood of the river. This was proved when the sergeant of the rear-guard party saw more than 200, women, lads, little girls and boys, come out from the river edge beside it to look at us, and told me of it in a moment.

Of the population of natives who inhabit the Roblar, and from there along the Sierra to the Ranchería of Apalame, there are, or there ought to be more inhabitants in it. The number of people which I calculate could be Christianized is from 5 to 6 thousand, little more. This is from the rancherías of the lakes and rivers.]

After finishing my walk with the captains, I made known to them all the objects and ends of my coming. They assured me that they had among them no more Christians than that one from Choynoco who had been brought to me, nor had any come to Chischa. Thus neither their captain Jouspa nor his people had ever seen troops, this being the first time that they had reached them. Though long ago some passed below [this was Don Gabriel Moraga in his reconnaissance made in 1806], they only heard of it through their friends from Telame. Jouspa and the other captains wished to trade with us, save that we lived very far from them, and that they could not cross [the valley]

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the river toward the east, then going about 4 leagues we turned south [copy of Nov. 19: and crossed another time] and found signs of there having been a rancharia. There were parts of dead horses there and a sweat house of considerable capacity. Going 4 leagues more, and almost in front of my halting place of the day before, he pointed out on the other shore of the river a great willow thicket, and tular, saying that it [the Chaneche rancharia] was on those banks. We went there and found four old balsas which we could not use. I had to cross by swimming and maneuvering about [bola pie] with considerable trouble because of the obstacles, the great density of trees, willows and *sorsamora* on both sides. It was necessary to enter partly on canes [i. *entrar en parte arrodillados*] as far as the rancharia, which was found abandoned. It was composed solely of the same tules, their ends bent [i. *dobladas sus puntas*] like those I had seen on the shores of the river and sloughs, the miserable huts all scattered and without any order.

From this native I learned that at this Rancharia of Chineches all the renegade Christians from Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, San Francisco, and Soledad had gathered in a considerable number. [He said] that Pomponio, Baltazar, and a Clareño came to it frequently; that six days ago they arrived with twelve horses and a piece of cloth that they had stolen in the neighborhood of the town and mission of Santa Clara. [He said] that when he retreated he left them there, and they had not as yet seen us; that since they always rode bareback they had no halters.

All the San Joaquin River and the arroyos of Santa Rita is studded with groves of a very large species of willow. In the largest the natives knew to watch in such a way over a great distance, for so large is this plain which they call *Los Tulares* that anyone is seen who comes on foot, or still better, on horseback. Today we made 12 leagues with considerable trouble because of our exposure.

Wednesday, 10.—It now seemed impracticable to continue north to the Merced River in search of an Indian village, which, according to my calculations would be 12 leagues away. For as I see it, it would have been already abandoned for many days by both natives and the renegade Christians who live with them. They would be hidden in the tules and swamps whose inviolability is a complete certainty, the more so since they carry nothing with them, and get about easily with their knowledge of the country. And already having news of this and the San Francisco expedition they would take special precautions, not even making the fires which they usually make when traveling [copy of Nov. 19: with which they are accustomed to signal when our people are traveling] on the plain. Considering the time wasted, I resolved to return to the Presidio.

Started at 6 a.m. guided by the same Indian, going toward the east [i. *oriente*; copy of Nov. 19 does not give the direction] for the Santa Rita River. I reached there at 4 p.m. having gone 11 leagues through swamps, etc.

I learned from this native named Lutuayx, and from the Indian interpreters whom I brought from Soledad that in that mission he had two Chris-

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* 161 cisco Bay. The reduction of this region may not have
 127 been complete by 1805 and Tulare Indians were coming
 797 in by that year. Hence there is a chance of overlap.
 This source of error, however, may be excluded for
 all practical purposes if no doubtful village which con-
 tinued to furnish converts after 1810 is included in the
 list, for the reduction of the Costanoans was certainly
 complete by that time.

* 161 Concerning village size various items of information
 are available. In the diary of Ramon Abellà in 1811 he
 mentions that the Cholbones had three rancherias with
 a population of 900, or 300 per rancheria. That of the
 Coybones had 180 and that of the Tauquimenes 200 men
 and 60 houses. The population of the latter tribe, if we
 apply the ratio found by Zalvidea at the southern end of
 the valley, should be 650. This ratio, it will be remem-
 bered, is based on Zalvidea's statement that he counted
 as men all males between the ages seven and forty. If,
 on the other hand, we assume that Abella referred to
 all males except small children and further that the sex
 ratio was unity, the adults would have numbered 400
 and, if 15 per cent of the village were children, the
 total would be approximately 470. However, in the
 northern end of the valley we have much more solid
 data with which to work than at the extreme south.

The baptism records of the missions of San Jose
 and Santa Clara to which reference is made above in-
 clude for each gentile village a breakdown of men,
 women, and children. These data have been already
 discussed in connection with the rancherias on Lake
 Tulare and it has been shown that, if proper correction
 is made for the sex ratio, men and women each con-
 tributed 41.8 per cent of the population and children
 16.4 per cent. It is clear that in the north the Francis-
 cans employed their standard system of calling children
 all persons under the age of ten years (not seven years)
 and including as males all men above the same age.
 Zalvidea's system was used only by himself. Conse-
 quently, a village with 200 men would have contained
 563 persons in all.

For the village of the Tauquimenes with 60 houses
 the average would have been 9.38 persons per house.
 That this number is not excessive is demonstrated by
 the account of a village of Chuppumne contained also
 in Duran's diary. This rancheria had 35 houses, some
 of which were 40 to 50 paces in circumference. Since
 a pace is roughly a yard the diameter of such a house
 would be 43 feet, amply sufficient to accommodate 9 per-
 sons. Chuppumne would thus have had a population of
 315. Duran also mentions a rancheria of the Ochejamnes
 which had 40 houses, or 360 inhabitants.

• [34R] Luis Argüello (MS, 1813) describes an expedition
 under the command of one Soto, whose party was at-
 tacked by Indians in the marshes of the delta. Schenck
 (1926, p. 129) locates the scene as in T5N, R4E, near
 Walnut Grove and designates the tribe as the Unsumnes
 or Cosumnes. Now Argüello states that the expedition
 crept up on the Indians overnight and attacked at dawn.
 They were surprised to find that their coming had never-
 theless been detected and that the Indians had sent away
 the women and children. The Spaniards were met by a
 force of warriors, which Soto placed as his best esti-
 mate at 1,000 persons. These were drawn from four
 rancherias in the vicinity. One may always exercise
 skepticism with reference to these estimates of enemy
 forces, particularly in this instance, since the Spaniards
 were roughly handled and suffered several casualties in
 addition to being forced to withdraw. On the other hand,
 the invaders consisted of 13 well armed Spaniards and

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